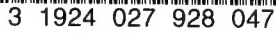


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First English life of King Henry the Fifth



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HENRY V

FROM THE PICTURE IN THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

The First English Life of
KING HENRY THE FIFTH

written in 1513

by an anonymous Author known commonly as

The Translator of Livius

EDITED BY

CHARLES LETHBRIDGE KINGSFORD, M.A.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE

EDITOR OF STOW'S 'SURVEY OF LONDON'

With Introduction, Annotations, and Glossary

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INTRODUCTION

IN a famous passage in his *Annales*¹ John Stow, when describing how Henry of Monmouth appeared before his father in 1412 to seek for a reconciliation, attributes his story to the Translator of Livius, who gave it on the information of the Earl of Ormonde, 'an eye-witness of the same.' Holinshed² also, in his list of learned men and writers during the reign of Henry V, after mentioning Titus Livius, goes on to say: 'one there was that translated the said history into English, adding (as it were by way of notes in many places of that book) sundry things for the more large understanding of the history; a copy whereof I have seen belonging to John Stow, citizen of London.' In two places Holinshed makes specific mention of the Translator of Livius as the authority for statements in his text.³ Before Stow and Holinshed, Nicholas Harpsfield, who died in 1575, having been a prisoner in the Tower since 1559, in his *Historia Anglicana*⁴ (which, however, was not printed till 1622) states that the *Life of Henry V* by Titus Livius had been translated into English by one 'who added some things of his own taken, as he says, from the Earl of Ormonde'. Stow's story was borrowed by Holinshed,⁵ and has obtained a wide currency. Nevertheless its source has passed unnoticed, and the possible existence of a translation of Titus Livius incorporating new material has been almost entirely overlooked, or noticed only to call in question the authenticity of the stories derived from it.

Recently Mr. F. Madan directed my attention to an English *Life of Henry V* in Bodley MS. 966. An examination of it showed at once that it was the lost work of the Translator, and identical with the book cited by Thomas Hearne in the notes to his edition of the *Vita Henrici Quinti* by Titus Livius as *Libri Anglici*. The Bodley MS. is a large, hand-

¹ p. 339, ed. 1631; see pp. 11-13 below.

³ *id.* iii. 105, 122.

⁴ p. 586.

² *Chronicles*, iii. 136.

⁵ *Chronicles*, iii. 53, 54.

somely bound folio, containing transcripts of historical pieces and documents made for Sir Peter Manwood, a Kentish antiquary, in the reign of James I. The greater part of it (including the *Life of Henry V*) was written about 1610, and the volume was presented by Manwood to the Bodleian Library in 1620. Bernard, in his *Catalogi Librorum MSS. Angliae et Hiberniae*, which was published in 1697, gives under the heading 'Bodl. MS. 3033' a summary of its contents. But for the *Life of Henry V*, which occupies the first ninety-one pages, he has no more than 'Titus Livius's Prologue directed to King Henry the VI. p. 3 Fol.' Thus he does not notice the Translator's own preface on pages 1 and 2, and does not indicate in any way the nature of the main work. This may explain why since Hearne's time the *Life* has been overlooked. It is only quite recently that, in the process of cataloguing, its true character has been revealed.

After the text of the Bodley MS. as here given was already in print I discovered that another copy of the Translator's *Life of Henry V* existed in Harley MS. 35 at the British Museum. This copy was apparently written in the latter part of the reign of James I, and is therefore somewhat later in date than the copy in the Bodley MS. It is, moreover, in other respects inferior. As will be explained further on, the greatest interest of the Translator's *Life* consists in a number of stories given on the authority of James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormonde. Out of nine such stories or passages, four do not appear at all in the Harley MS. and a fifth only in part. Of the four omitted stories, two, on the spoil of Caen and on the visit of St. Vincent Ferrier,¹ are not given either by Stow or Holinshed. The account of the reception of Sigismund by Humphrey of Gloucester,² and the latter part of the story of the Sire de Barbasan,³ which are also omitted in the Harley MS., are given by Holinshed but not by Stow. The reference to the great continence of Henry V,⁴ which appears in the 'Proem' of the Bodley MS., has no place in the Harley MS., since the 'Proem' is there omitted altogether; this passage is quoted only by Harpsfield. The omission of the 'Proem'

¹ See pp. xxxiv-xxxvi below.

³ See pp. 168-71.

² See p. 67.

⁴ See p. 5.

may perhaps be explained by the fact that even in the Bodley MS. it seems to be imperfect. But the allusion to it in the concluding paragraph of the *Life* stands in the Harley MS. The verses on the Earl of Stafford's banner,¹ with which the Bodley MS. ends, are not found in the other copy. The omissions of the Harley MS. raise some curious questions. The fact that two stories which do not appear in the Harley MS. are also omitted by Stow and Holinshed might suggest that this copy of the *Life* is similar to the one which Stow owned and lent to Holinshed. This is, however, disproved by the appearance in Holinshed of two passages which are not found in the Harley copy. It is possible, of course, that Stow's copy may have contained a selection of the Ormonde stories, which differed from those of either of the extant copies. This suggests a further hypothesis that there may have been still more of those stories in some other version now lost.² However that may be, it is satisfactory to know that in the Bodley MS. we at all events possess one of the fuller versions. The evidence for the existence of varying versions of the Translator's *Life* is further of interest as indicating that its circulation was neither accidental nor limited.

Over and above those matters referred to in the last paragraph there are four other omissions in the Harley MS. These are not very noteworthy in themselves, except for the circumstance that they are all insertions made by the Translator; three of them are in criticism of discrepancies which he found in his authorities.³ Probably their omission has no more significance than that the scribe of the Harley MS. did not deem them of sufficient interest to retain. On the other side he makes only one addition of interest: this is the story (probably based on a local legend of late date) that Owen Glendower died on the top of Lawton's Hope Hill in Herefordshire.⁴ In another place he adds a few words which are given by Stow, though they do not appear in the Bodley copy.⁵ A third instance supplies a translation

¹ See p. 190.

² See p. xlvi below.

³ The last paragraphs on pp. 51 and 56, the first part of the last paragraph on p. 123, and the last paragraph on p. 185.

⁴ See p. 191 below.

⁵ See p. 123, note 1.

of a sentence in Monstrelet which is omitted in the Bodley MS.¹ Minor textual variations are not infrequent, and occasionally the Harley MS. is of value as confirming more or less obvious corrections of the other copy. But on the whole the variations of the two manuscripts are less to be remarked than some curiously close analogies. Manwood's copy is well and carefully written. His scribe, however, seems at times to have found some difficulty in reproducing the original. Apart from obvious errors of transcription,² there are occasional omissions and blanks.³ Of the errors, as is not unnatural, some, though not all, receive correction in the Harley MS. But that many of the omissions and blanks should be common to both manuscripts is remarkable; those variations of reading which appear in these passages are such as might naturally occur in the deciphering of an ill-written original. Not a few of the errors and blanks can be rectified by comparison with Stow's text in his *Annales*; but in some places it is clear that Stow⁴ himself experienced in his own copy difficulties similar to those which are found in the extant manuscripts. The occurrence of such close analogies of error suggests naturally that all the versions are derived from the same more ancient copy. In such case, of course, the omissions of the Harley MS. would be peculiar to it, and would afford no evidence for the earlier circulation of varying versions of the *Life*. Whilst, however, the textual difficulties must have originated in a common undecipherable source, it is not impossible that they may have been transmitted to the two seventeenth-century scribes through separate intermediaries. For such a theory Stow's corrections and his own difficulties afford some slight confirmation. Textually Stow's version resembles most nearly the Harley copy, but it is evident that in the greater fullness of its material it came nearer to the Bodley MS. It is not possible to determine whether either or both of the manuscripts are derived from the copy which Stow owned. Since neither the variations nor the analogies of the manuscript and printed versions are helpful to a sure

¹ See p. 192 below.

² See pp. 9, 18, 23, 31, 47, 70, 91, 141, 154, 172, 176, 185, 189.

³ See pp. 12, 27, 34, 60, 92, 100, 141, 157, 158, 161, 163, 177, 178, 186, 188.

⁴ See pp. 34, 93, 158, 175 below.

conclusion, we are compelled to leave the textual history of the *Life* somewhat obscure.¹

Of Stow's own copy of the *Life* no trace can now be found. It does not exist amongst his voluminous 'Collections', of which a part are preserved in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. Stow first refers to the 'Translator of Livius' in the edition of his *Summary of English Chronicles* published in 1570. The identity of our *Life* with the work cited by Stow is manifest through its close resemblance to the text given by him in his *Annales*, wherein long passages are borrowed from the *Life* with little or no variation. Stow himself gave no indication of the source of his text, but cited Livius and Monstrelet as his authorities, when in point of fact he was adopting the version of the Translator together with his interpolations and errors.²

I will now turn to give an account of the Translator's *Life*. The writer explains in his 'Proem' that he had 'translated two books, the one of Titus Livius out of facund Latin, the other of Enguerrant de Monstrelet out of the common language of France . . . and to these two aforesaid books I have also added divers sayings of the English Chronicles, and to the same also divers other opinions that I have read of the report of a certain and honourable ancient person, . . . and that is the honourable Earl of Ormonde'. His purpose in writing was didactic, to give 'our Sovereign Lord' an example of honour, fame, and victory 'of that most puissant prince King Henry V, your ancestor'. When he began his work 'we laboured in war', and the writer wished that the King might thereby be provoked to ensue the acts of this so noble, virtuous, and excellent prince. But during its progress that mortal war was changed into an amiable, toward, and honourable peace. The allusion is made clear in the conclusion, where it is stated that the achievements of Henry V were—

'since the beginning of this my enterprise most to be regarded of us Englishmen through the high and victorious courage of

¹ I have been able to deal with many of the minor variations of the Harley MS. in the footnotes. The more important of the remainder are given in an Appendix on pp. 191, 192.

² See for instances pp. 17, 23, 25, 28, 33, 35, 39, 40, 55, 63, 79, 99, 100, 107, 116, 124, 139, 151, 176, 185.

our most renowned sovereign lord, that now reigneth over us, now of late entered into semblable war against the Frenchmen, as well for the recovery of his just and rightful inheritance, . . . as for the reconciliation of the same French King and his confederates unto our ghostly mother of the Church of Rome.'¹

We thus have a definite proof of the time at which the work was composed. In the summer of 1513 the Holy League between Pope Leo X, Maximilian, and Henry VIII led to the invasion of France by the English King. The battle of Guinegate and the capture of Tournay, though they had no very substantial results, were sufficiently glorious. Henry would have liked to pursue his advantage, but the Pope was more anxious to use the difficulties of France as a means to put an end to the schismatical movement which had been supported by Louis XII. When the English King saw that Leo was intent on peace he concluded a treaty on his own account. To the failure of Henry's allies to render him consistent support the Translator seems to make reference, when he speaks of how in these days, as in times past, aliens for the more lucre and gain break their oaths and dissolve their confederations.² If the war had not achieved the purpose for which it was undertaken, it had been honourable to English arms, and had contributed to end the threatened schism in the Church. The treaty between England and France was concluded in August, 1514. Thus the Translator must have composed his *Life of Henry V* between June 30, 1513, when Henry VIII landed at Calais, and the autumn of the following year. With such clear evidence of date it is not necessary to pursue the question further. Still, we may note that the writer refers to the burning of Sheen in 1497, and to the building of Richmond, as matters which were no longer recent.³

The date of the composition of the *Life* is not insignificant. During that self-same year Thomas More was at work on his *History of Richard III*, which was the first noteworthy achievement of historical literature in English. At this time

¹ See p. 190 below.

² See p. 189 below.

³ See p. 19 below.

also Polydore Vergil was busy with his *Historia Anglica*, in which he sought to set a new model for the composition of History on a critical and reasoned basis. So it is of interest to mark the literary intention of the Translator, and the conception which he had formed of the duties of an historian. In both points he anticipated in some degree the work of his two contemporaries. He described himself modestly as having made his translation into rude and homely English, and pleaded that from his native tongue all pratique (or experience) and famous inditing were far exiled. In this he displays at once his desire to give a literary form to his work, and his consciousness of the difficulties that lay before him. Both the desire and the difficulties are reflected in the writer's narrative. With a natural art he uses for the most part a good, straightforward style, with no straining for effect. Yet he is not a complete master of his instrument, and his sentences have a tendency to become long and involved. His vocabulary is also a trouble to him. His native speech is not adequate to his ideas, and it is not merely when he is translating from Latin or French that he shows a liking for strange or new words such as 'reduige', 'intumulate', 'invelupted', and 'scelerate'. Together with many words which were to survive in permanent use but were still unfamiliar at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there are not a few which the Translator seems to have coined to die still-born. The abnormal proportion of words which begin with 'in' or 'inter' may be indicative of his Latinity.¹ There is, however, no affectation of eloquence, nor any attempt to display a literary superiority by the use of unfamiliar phrases. What harshness of diction appears is due rather to the pains of one who had to labour with an imperfect instrument than to the clumsiness of the workman. The author's mastery seems to have increased as his work progressed. He does not, indeed, like More, rise at once to a supreme level of literary craftsmanship. Still he attains at times to a sonorous and simple dignity, which is not least marked where he gives himself the freest hand. In such passages he had no call to excuse himself for his rude and

¹ 'discrimes' and 'repeate' (in the sense of to seek again) are direct renderings of the Latin, and 'circle' (coffin) of the French.

homely English, and came near to that famous inditing, the lack of which in his native speech he had lamented. He was not fettered by any slavish adherence to his originals, which he paraphrased freely and put into a genuine English dress. In this, as in his piecing together of his material, he shows at his best no little skill. The mere fact that he had sat down to write with a sense of what was lacking in literary English, and that he nevertheless achieved so much in his performance, gives him some distinction. Before his time no considerable History had been composed in English with so definite a literary intention. Had it been his good fortune to have his work printed, he might justly have been esteemed one of the pioneers of English prose in the sixteenth century. As it is we must recognize him as one of perhaps many unknown workers, who helped to create the instrument which others were to use.

As in the form, so also in the substance of his History the Translator had to create without any model for his guidance. It is true that Polydore Vergil had already set to work on his *Historia Anglica*, endeavouring to weave his materials into a consecutive and readable story, and departing deliberately from the methods of old annalists and chroniclers. When we find a similar design in the Translator's *Life of Henry V*, we are compelled to recognize that Polydore was not in this entirely original. It was the advantage of the foreign scholar that he was more readily able to give expression to a spirit that was already in the air. Polydore had the good fortune in his Latin to supply English writers of History with a model for their conscious imitation. The work of the Translator proves, however, that even in this limited sphere the origins of the literary Renaissance in England must be carried back further. It was, of course, a happy chance for the Translator that his subject had already been handled by Tito Livio with literary skill on classical models. But had he contented himself simply with translating a book, which so well served his purpose, into English, he would not in a literary sense have accomplished anything noteworthy. It was because he designed deliberately to supplement his main authority from other sources, and interwove his additions with literary skill, that he deserves to be regarded as an historian. There is

indeed nothing profound in his treatment, and commonly he paraphrases Tito Livio without any material additions. But in the very act of paraphrasing he does impart to his narrative a personality which is his own, if for no other reason than that he reads into it something which was not in the original. Nor for that matter does he fail from time to time to attempt in a simple way to furnish us with some critical comparison of sources. So the additions to Tito Livio's *Vita Henrici* are not always mere interpolations more or less skilfully inserted, but sometimes take the form of a new narrative reconstructed from more than one original. But however simple the methods were by which he contexted and adjoined his materials, he deserves credit for the care with which he entitled in the margin of what authority every sentence is taken.¹ If, moreover, his criticism and construction were simple, he was not without other qualities of the historian. It does not go for nothing that he had a purpose in writing, even though it were no more than to describe his hero as a model for imitation by other Princes. This didactic purpose pervades the whole work. The thread of the main narrative is constantly broken for moralizations by the Translator.² If these moralizations are simple and obvious, and in themselves of no great value, they serve to emphasize the writer's conception of his hero, and to give a unity to his own work. Their spirit is different from that of the bias of a contemporary eulogist. They are the endeavour of an historian to draw instruction from the past for the benefit of the present. Their didactic purpose was not purely moral; there is in them a deliberate design to apply the political lesson of the life of Henry V to the times of Henry VIII. However simple or mistaken the lesson and argument may be, they stand.

If it is not possible to claim for the Translator any special excellence either as an author or a historian, yet the circumstance that he was in both capacities conscious that he was striking out a new line for himself entitles him to our favour. Simply as an early specimen of historical literature, and quite apart from its contents, the *First English Life of Henry V* would be noteworthy. Yet it has a greater interest through

¹ See p. 3 below.

² See pp. 18, 19, 23, 28, 34, 45, 92.

the preservation in it of no little material which would otherwise have been lost.

Before entering on any critical discussion of the new material contained in the *Life*, it is necessary to describe the sources from which it was derived. Since its main fabric was taken avowedly from the *Vita Henrici Quinti* of Tito Livio, I must begin with a brief account of that writer. Titus Livius Foroluliensis, as he is styled on the title-page of Hearne's edition of his *Vita Henrici Quinti*, appears in the official record of his denization in England¹ as 'Titus Livius de Frulovisiis de Ferraria'. He was a native of Forli, about forty miles from Ferrara, and is better called Tito Livio da Forli. Tito Livio was one of the Italian scholars who were attracted to England by the fame of Humphrey of Gloucester as a patron of letters. He is described as the Duke's 'poet and orator', and it was at Humphrey's suggestion that he wrote his *Life of Henry V.* It appears from the dedication of his work to Henry VI that he had already been 'indigenated' in England, and was then about to return to his native country.² In an *Encomium* (or Eulogy) of sixty-three hexameter lines, which he addressed to John Stafford, at that time Bishop of Bath and Wells, but afterwards from 1443 to 1452 Archbishop of Canterbury, Tito declares that he had been anxious to sing the praise of Britain, but since Britons were poor and he was entangled in debt he must go home to Italy.³ He seems to have left England in 1438 or 1439. After a visit to Milan he went to Toulouse, where he stayed long enough to graduate as doctor. From Toulouse he journeyed to Barcelona, whence, apparently in 1440, he wrote to his friend Pier Candido Decembri, the Milanese humanist, sending him a copy of his *Life of Henry V.*⁴ Of Tito Livio himself no more is known, but many years afterwards Decembri translated his friend's history into Italian and dedicated it to Francesco Sforza in 1463; a copy of this translation is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna.⁵ Tito

¹ *Foedera*, x. 661.

² See p. 7 below.

³ Cotton. MS. Claudius, E. iii, f. 353^{vo}.

⁴ *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, Ser. II (Anno xx), vol. x, pp. 63, 428.

⁵ No. 2610. See Dr. Wylie's article in the *English Historical Review*, xxiv. 84-9.

Livio tells us that Duke Humphrey supplied him with all the monuments of his hero's exploits that could be obtained. He used also other sources of information, both official records and Chronicles written in England, especially a version of the *Brut*, or English Chronicle, which seems to have been compiled from earlier narratives about 1436 or 1437.¹ So though Tito Livio could write nothing from his own knowledge, he had access to trustworthy and authentic material. His *Life* is not without literary merit, and deserves the description of it by Holinshed² as written in a good, familiar, and easy style. It may be described as the official biography of Henry V. As such it became the chief source of the narratives of later writers. About 1446 an unknown writer expanded it, with some additions, into the more ornate but for the most part inferior *Life*, which was published by Hearne under the name of Thomas Elmham in 1727.³ At a later time Polydore Vergil may probably have made use of it. Edward Hall had apparently no knowledge of it, but Stow and Holinshed were both acquainted with it. Stow, however, seems to have depended almost entirely, and Holinshed in great part, on the English version of the Translator. Thomas Goodwin, whose *History of the Reign of Henry V* appeared in 1704, seems only to have had a second-hand knowledge of Tito Livio's *Vita*, which was not printed till 1716. Hearne's text was based on Cotton. MS. Claudius E. iii, collated with Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 285; the Translator's Latin original closely resembled the Cambridge MS., which Hearne cites as 'Ben'.

Next to Tito Livio, the author of the *First English Life of Henry V* was avowedly most indebted to Enguerrant de Monstrelet. Monstrelet's *Chronicle* was probably used by the Pseudo-Elmham, and was afterwards very popular in England. Through the use made of it by our writer, and still more freely by Hall and Holinshed, it has coloured the English narratives

¹ See pp. 71, 130 below.

² *Chronicles*, iii. 136.

³ The ascription of this *Life* to Elmham is an error; Elmham's true work was written in 1417, and has now been identified with the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* published by the English Historical Society in 1850. The *Life* which Hearne edited is cited below as the Pseudo-Elmham.

of the French war of the fifteenth century with Burgundian sympathies. This, however, matters less for the reign of Henry V than for that of Henry VI. Moreover, Monstrelet's *Chronicle* was only used by the Translator for the purpose of supplementing his main source in those places wherein the latter seemed most defective.¹

In the third place our writer depends on the English Chronicles. From his marginal quotations he would seem to have used chiefly the *Policronicon*, which was first printed by Caxton in 1482, and many times afterwards before 1513. Caxton's *Policronicon* was merely an adaptation of the *Brut*, which he had previously printed as the *Chronicles of England* in 1480. Caxton's *Chronicles* followed a version of the *Brut* which was compiled probably between 1464 and 1470. The Translator may have depended on this printed version, but from the manner of his references it is at least probable that he was acquainted with the English Chronicle in some of the numerous manuscript versions. The part of the *Brut* which relates to the reign of Henry V was first compiled towards 1430; Tito Livio, as above noted, seems to have used a somewhat later version. The *Brut* was a popular and not very critical history, but preserves the current and contemporary opinion of the events which it records, and deserves more consideration than it has commonly received. Though the version used by Caxton was a late one, it reproduced for the most part older copies.²

The last of the authorities named by the Translator is the report of the honourable and ancient person, the Earl of Ormonde. It is in the passages derived from this source that the interest of our *Life* most greatly consists, since they alone contain matter which is not preserved elsewhere. The history of this Earl of Ormonde has in consequence a special importance for us.

James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormonde, was born in 1392,

¹ Monstrelet's *Chroniques* are cited below from the edition of Douët d'Arcq, published by the Soc. de l'Hist. de France.

² The *Policronicon* is quoted below from Blades's *Life of Caxton*, i. 215-65, the *Brut* from the edition by Dr. Brie for the Early English Text Society. The last book of Caxton's *Policronicon* is also printed in the Rolls Series edition of Higden, vol. viii. 522-87.

and succeeded his father in 1405. His estates were put in charge of Thomas of Lancaster, with whom he formed a youthful friendship. In the summer of 1412 he accompanied Thomas, now Duke of Clarence, on his expedition to France. So he may well, as Stow alleges, have been an eye-witness of the scene between Henry of Monmouth and his father as described below.¹ Afterwards he served in the expedition to France in 1415, and is probably the Jaques de Ormond whom Henry V knighted at Pont St. Maxence on the way to Agincourt.² He went again to Normandy in April, 1418, serving under Thomas of Clarence, and was present with him at the siege of Rouen.³ He remained abroad throughout 1419, but Hall⁴ must be in error when he mentions him as one of those who were present at the siege of Melun in the autumn of 1420. For early in that year Ormonde was appointed Lieutenant of Ireland, and landed at Waterford to take up his office on April 4.⁵ He was succeeded as Lieutenant of Ireland by Edmund, Earl of March, in 1423, and on July 11 of that year had licence to be absent in England for two years.⁶ In 1427 he was again Justiciar in Ireland.⁷ In April, 1430, he went once more to France.⁸ This was two months after the loss of Château Gaillard, and he was thus in a position to have heard the story of the Sire de Barbasan⁹ at a time when the circumstances of that soldier's captivity were notorious. He spent the greater part of the next few years in France or England, and afterwards returned to Ireland as Deputy. In November, 1439, the Lords and Commons made complaint against him, 'for both he is aged, unwieldy, and unlusty, for he hath for lack of labour lost in substance all his castles, towns and lordships'. They declared that he had 'often been appeached of many great treasons, the which is proof that he hath not been of good rule.'¹⁰ As a consequence he was removed from his

¹ See pp. xx, xxv and 11 below.

² Hall, p. 64; Holinshed, iii. 75.

³ *Forty-fourth Report of the Deputy-keeper*, pp. 604-5; *Collections of a London Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), p. 7.

⁴ p. 102.

⁵ Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, i, p. lxxvi.

⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry VI, i. 128.

⁷ *Statute Rolls, Ireland*, Henry VI, p. 3.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 72.

⁹ See pp. 167-71 below.

¹⁰ *Statute Rolls, Ireland*, pp. 51, 52.

office, but nevertheless was reappointed for seven years on February 27, 1442.¹ However, four years later, on a fresh charge of treason preferred against him by Thomas Fitz-Thomas, prior of Kilmainham, he was recalled to England. Ormonde and his accuser were to have met in single combat at Smithfield on October 4, 1446; but according to the English Chronicle 'the prior came not into Smithfield where the other was ready'.² Another account, however, alleges that the prior appeared, full cleanly harnessed, keeping the field till noon.³ The King had stopped the combat by taking the Earl into his grace. Ormonde did not obtain full pardon till September 15, 1448,⁴ and seems to have been kept in England till 1450, when he went back to Ireland as deputy for Richard of York. He died at Atherdee in Louth on August 23, 1452.

Carte, in his *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*,⁵ describes the fourth Earl as a great student and lover of history and antiquity, very proficient in the law of arms, and a benefactor of the Herald's College at London. James Butler's career shows that he had good opportunity to have learnt the stories told on his authority in the following pages. The story of Barbasan turns upon the laws of arms, and the verses said to have been borne by the Earl of Stafford at Agincourt may well have been recorded by one who took an interest in heraldry.⁶ For Ormonde's scholarly tastes we have further evidence in the translation of the *Secreta Secretorum* made at his command by James Yong in 1419-22, and styled *The Gouvernaunce of Prynces or Pryvete of Pryvetes*.⁷ Yong expanded his translation by introducing some passages topical to Ireland and Ormonde's early career. It is perhaps worth noting that several of the stories attributed to Ormonde would have been illustrative of such a work on the virtues of rulers and principles of kingly government.

Of the exact form of Ormonde's history of Henry V we cannot now be certain. That it was not written till after his death is evident from the reference to the canonization of

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 45, 90.

³ *Gregory's Chron.*, p. 187.

⁵ i. pp. lxxiv-lxxviii, ed. 1851.

⁷ *Three prose versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, pp. 119-248, Early English Text Society, 1898.

² *Brut*, p. 487.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, v. 310.

⁶ See pp. 170 and 190 below.

St. Vincent Ferrier, which did not take place till June 29, 1455.¹ Probably it was a compilation made from his material by an author in his service. It may have been simply a collection of reminiscences illustrative of such subjects as the duties of a prince and the law of arms. But from the prominence of Henry V in the extracts which have survived, it seems likely that it was a more regular history, possibly even taking shape as a Life of that King. The Translator in his Proem² says: 'I have also added . . . divers other opinions that I have *read* of a certain honourable and ancient person.' It would be barely possible that the Translator of 1513 should himself have received his information from the Earl of Ormonde, who died over sixty years before. But when he thus writes of what he had *read*, he makes it clear that his information was only second-hand. When, however, in his text³ he writes of what 'I have *heard* of the credible report of my said lord and master, the Earl of Ormonde', it is manifest that he is giving us the veritable words of his original. That original might have been written in Latin, but looking to the date and to the character and circumstances of its composition, it is more reasonable to suppose that it was an English book. The author was, on his own showing, a servant of the Earl of Ormonde. It is possible that, like James Yong thirty years before, he was a professional writer employed by the Earl to put his reminiscences into literary form. But his language when he speaks of what he had often heard the Earl report⁴ rather suggests that he wrote from memory after the Earl's death than that he had set down his narrative from his master's dictation. Whatever the exact form or manner of composition, the important thing is that the Translator has preserved for us the precise substance of extracts from a work which was written in the middle of the fifteenth century on information supplied by one who had himself been familiar with the Court and times of Henry V. The story of St. Vincent Ferrier shows us that Ormonde (or his scribe) is not to be trusted for absolute accuracy of detail.⁵ But the matter thus preserved is not

¹ See p. xxxvi below.

³ See pp. 13, 67, 92, 130 below.

⁵ See p. xxxv.

² See p. 3 below.

⁴ See p. 170.

mere tradition handed on from one mouth to another; we may accept it in the main as the narrative of one who had witnessed or learnt from good report at the time the events and scenes which he describes. Several of the stories are not without confirmation from other sources, though Ormonde relates them with a degree of detail which is not to be found elsewhere.

I will now discuss the stories themselves. The first is the statement in the 'Proem' that from the time of his father's death till his own marriage Henry V practised the strictest continence.¹ This is not attributed specifically by the Translator to the Earl of Ormonde. He gives it, however, as what 'I have heard of credible report', an expression which with some variation is commonly used to introduce the Ormonde stories. Nicholas Harpsfield, who alone reproduces it, clearly regards it as told on Ormonde's authority. That Henry V had been somewhat lax in his morality as Prince, but was almost ascetic in his own conduct when he became King, is part of the oft-repeated story of his change into a new man after his accession to the throne.

The second story is that of the Prince's disguising when he came to seek reconciliation with his father after the attempts of his enemies to sow dissension between them.² As already noted, this story was given by John Stow with no more than verbal variations from the text of the Translator. Stow states specifically that the story was told by the Translator of Titus Livius 'as he was informed by the Earl of Ormonde, an eye-witness of the same'. This ascription does not appear in the text of the Translator as we possess it. It is possible that this may be an instance of the existence of varying copies of the *Life*. Or Stow (though he seldom garbled his originals) may have made a very warrantable assumption. The story as given below seems clearly to come from the same source as the account of Henry IV's death-bed advice to his son, which follows immediately after. This latter story is told expressly by the Translator on the 'credible report of my said lord and

¹ See p. 5 below.

² See pp. 11-13 below.

master, the Earl of Ormonde'. As for the authenticity of the story, we know from other sources that the dissension which arose between the Prince and King in the autumn of 1411 was more or less healed at an interview which took place between them in the following summer. For a full understanding of the story it is necessary to summarize briefly the political history of these years.

When the increasing illness of Henry IV incapacitated him from discharging the full duties of kingship, the main direction of the government was entrusted in January, 1410, to the Council, with the young Henry of Monmouth at its head. It was under the Prince's influence¹ that in the autumn of 1411 an expedition was sent to France to support John of Burgundy in his contest with Charles of Orleans. In this matter, as also in some questions of domestic policy, the Prince and his uncles, Henry and Thomas Beaufort, who were his chief councillors, were in conflict with the King and his old adviser, Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Certainly there was a sharp division of political parties at the time, though it may have been concerned rather with methods than with principles. The crisis came in the Parliament of November, 1411, when there seems no doubt that a scheme was mooted in the Beaufort interest to secure the King's abdication in favour of his eldest son.² When many years afterwards Henry Beaufort was charged with having 'stirred the Prince to take the governance of this realm upon him, his father the same time being King'³, he was content to meet his accusers with a general declaration of his loyalty, without any specific denial. The official record⁴ glosses over the affair, relating merely

¹ This is expressed clearly in the *Brut* (p. 371): 'The same yere come the ambasceturs of Fraunce yn-to Engelande, from the Duk of Burgoyne, vnto the prince of Engelande, King Harryes sone and his heire, for help & socour of men of armes and archers ayens the Duk of Orlyyauns. And he sent forth the Earle of Arundell, &c.' See also *Chron. Giles*, p. 61; *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii. 420; Hardyng, ap. *Lansdowne MS.* 204, f. 208 (see p. xxii below); Livius, p. 4 (see p. 11 below); Nicolas, *London Chron.*, p. 93. Probably all these writers have a common source.

² It is definitely stated in *Chron. Giles*, p. 63, and *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii. 421.

³ *Rolls of Parliament*, iv. 298; *Chronicles of London*, p. 92.

⁴ *Rolls of Parliament*, iii. 649.

that on the last day of November the Commons begged the King to thank the Prince and other Lords of the Council for their great labours and diligence. The Prince, on behalf of the Council, declared that they had laboured according to the best of their sense and understanding. The King in reply acknowledged graciously that he was well content with their good and loyal diligence. Whatever face official politeness may have put upon it, the fact remains that, in modern language, there was a change of ministry accompanied by a complete reversal of policy. Henry IV showed himself still capable of vigorous action by promptly removing the Prince and his supporters from the Council. It was no doubt to this incident that Ormonde makes reference when he relates that the King suspected that his son intended to usurp the crown, and for that occasion in part withdrew his singular love and affection from the Prince. The political question had been complicated by a personal one. Thomas of Lancaster had lately married Margaret, Countess of Somerset, widow of John Beaufort. This had led to a dispute with Henry Beaufort, as his brother's executor, who refused to give Thomas that share in the estate to which he thought himself entitled. The Prince of Wales supported his uncle, and Thomas in retaliation made alliance with his brother's political opponents.

Perhaps the best summary of the situation is that given by John Hardyng in the earliest version of his *Chronicle*¹ :—

The Kynge fell seke than eche day more and more,
 Wharfore the Prince he made, as it was sene,
 Chief of counsaile to ese him in his sore,
 Who to the Duk of Burgoyne sent, I wene,
 The Erle so than of Arrundell, I mene,
 And syr Gylbert Vmframvyle lorde of Kyme,
 Syr John Gray eke his eme's son was that tyme,
 To helpe hym in his warr with gode power
 Agayne the Duk that was of Orlvence :
 The Erle came home agayne within half yer,
 Bot syr Gilbert ther helde grete regymence
 With Englysshe folke that drew to his presence
 And ther bycame his men and his soudyours,
 For his manhode and knyghtly wyse labours.

¹ ap. *Lansdowne MS.* 204, f. 208^{vo}.

Than came thay home with grete thenke and rewarde
 So of the Duk of Burgoyne withoute fayle.
 Sone after than byfell it aftyrwarde
 The Prynce was than discharged of counsayll :
 His brother Thomas than, for the Kynges awayll,
 Was in his stede than sette by ordynaunce,
 For whiche the Prynce and he fell at distaunce.

Wyth whom the Kyng toke parte in grete sekenesse
 Agayne the Prynce with all his excellence,
 Bot with treti of lordes and sobyrnesse
 The Prynce came into his magnyficence
 Obeyand hole with all benyvolence
 Vnto the Kyng, and fully were accorde
 Of all maters of which thay were discorde.

Than sente the Kyng his sonne Thomas ouer se
 To helpe the Duk so than of Orlence
 Agayne the Duk of Burgoyne than to be
 With all his strength and hole conuenyence ;
 And so thurgh ffraunce withouten resistance
 In to Guyen he rode with grete honoure
 To kepe that londe and be thayr gouernoure.

This is superior to the alternative account of Hardyng's later, and printed, text ¹:—

The Kyng discharged the Prynce fro his counsaile,
 And set my lord Syr Thomas in his stede,
 Chief of counsayle for the Kyngs more awayle :
 For which the Prynce of wrath and wilful hede
 Agayne him made debate and frowarde hede,
 With whom the Kyng took parte and helde the felde
 To time the Prynce vnto the Kyng him yelde.

The variations of Hardyng's two versions involve no essential contradiction. Through his connexion with the Umfravilles he was in a position to be well informed as to both the expedition of 1411 and the political complications which led to the reversal of its policy. The Prince's enemies were not content with his downfall, but endeavoured to foster the dissension between him and his father ², alleging that he had misapplied money intended for the maintenance of Calais. The young Henry on his part did not remain idle, but sent his messengers

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 369, ed. Ellis.

² Otterbourne, p. 271 ; see also Livius, p. 4, and Pseudo-Elmham, p. 11.

throughout the country to refute the slanders which were brought against him. Thus he won such support from the chief lords of the realm as to justify Ormonde's statement that his court was at all times more abundant than his father's. When the King and his new advisers changed their policy of intervention in France, and promised their aid to Orleans against Burgundy, the Prince would not acquiesce. Whilst the negotiations with Orleans were in progress he had envoys of his own in friendly treaty with Burgundy. When the change of policy was decided, a French authority¹ states that he still endeavoured to delay the expedition and yielded only to his father's authority. This was no doubt in the early days of July, 1412. A London chronicler² relates that on June 30 the Prince came to London with much people of lords and gentles. He took up his residence at Durham House, near Ivy Bridge in the Strand (Thomas Langley, the bishop of Durham, being a political adherent of the Beauforts), where he remained till Monday, July 11. Meantime the King was first at the Priory of St. John at Clerkenwell, and afterwards, from the 3rd to the 8th July, at the Bishop's Palace at St. Paul's, whence he removed to Rotherhithe. Meetings of the Council were held on the 8th, 9th, and 10th July,³ but the Prince does not seem to have been present at any of them. At a Council which was held some time between July and September, the Prince was cleared of the charge of misappropriation by the production of two rolls, which he sent for the purpose, showing that the whole of the money had been paid away in wages to the garrison at Calais.⁴ Some form of reconciliation seems to have followed, and the Prince obtained a formal declaration of his innocence. It may have been with

¹ *Chron. S. Denys*, iv. p. 658.

² Nicolas, *London Chronicle*, p. 94.

³ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ii. 30-32.

⁴ *id.*, ii. 34. Mr. Solly-Flood (*Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 2nd Ser., iii. 108) thinks the date must have been either 28th or 29th Sept. Dr. Wylie (*Henry IV*, iv. 91) and Professor Oman (*Political History of England*, iv. 227) place this Council in July; they make the Prince present the rolls in person, and combine this incident with the dagger story (see p. 13 below). For this there is no authority. They also make the interview between the King and Prince take place in Westminster Hall; but if the meeting was at Westminster (which is doubtful, see p. xxv below) it was in one of the smaller rooms of the Palace.

the intention of being present in London on this occasion, that we hear of Henry as coming again to the Council with a huge people, on September 23.¹ Or if an earlier date is preferred for this Council, we must assume that even after it his vindication was not complete. Probably it is to this latter visit in September that we must assign the story of an attempted assassination of the Prince by a man who was discovered behind the tapestry of the Green Chamber in the Palace at Westminster, where the Prince was lodging.²

It remains to consider the occasion to which Ormonde's story of the Prince's disguising must be assigned. Otterbourne,³ who seems, as Stow assumed, to refer to the same incident, writes thus:—

'Meantime Prince Henry, offended by the King's friends, who, as it is said, sowed discord between father and son, wrote to all parts of the realm, endeavouring to refute all the machinations of his detractors. And to make his good faith more manifest, about the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (29th June) he came to the King his father with a great company of his friends and followers, the like of which had never been seen before. After a short space he was graciously received by the King, of whom he asked this alone that if his slanderers were convicted of falsehood they should be punished, not in accordance with their deserts but with such measure as was fitting. The King seemed to assent to his request, but said that they ought to await a Parliament, when those persons might be punished by the judgment of their peers.'

No other account is so full and clear. On Otterbourne's evidence I think we are justified in assuming that the scene described by Ormonde took place between June 30 and July 8, when the Prince and King were both in London. At this time only could Ormonde have been present, since he sailed with Clarence for France early in August. Ormonde says the meeting of the King and Prince was at Westminster; in this he may have been mistaken, or it is possible that the King may have come for the purpose from the Bishop's Palace.

The circumstances which led up to the interview have been

¹ Nicolas, *Lond. Chron.*, p. 95.

² *Chronicles of London*, p. 91.

³ *Chron.*, p. 271.

related in the previous pages, and seem to be best described in the accounts of Otterbourne and Hardyng. The best other accounts¹ attribute the quarrel of King and Prince definitely to the events of the Parliament of November, 1411. Tito Livio is of course in error when he makes the Prince's appointment to be head of the Council a reward for the successful expedition of 1411; of the subsequent dissension he says only that 'The Prince's fame was for a time injured by the detraction of certain persons'.² The Translator, presumably on Ormonde's authority, adds as further reasons for the King's disfavour 'the acts of youth which he exercised more than meanly', and 'the great recourse of people unto him'. The suggestion that the Prince's wild conduct was one cause of his misfortune is noteworthy in another connexion. But the main interest of Ormonde's narrative consists in the details of the Prince's fanciful attire, of his care to avoid any suspicion of mistrust, and of his conversation with his father. The whole story, which till this present had been known only through Stow, has been questioned by some modern writers. Sharon Turner³ rejected it 'because there seems no reason for the Prince's uncouth attire'. Lingard⁴ thought it 'displayed the usual eccentricity of his character'. Tyler⁵ held it very problematical whether we ought to accept this strange story of 'a mountebank's disguise'. Dr. Wylie,⁶ however, quotes well from Chaucer⁷:

Wraught was his robe in straunge gyse,
And al-to-slittered for quayntyse.

Others have thought that Henry's dress had reference to his stay at Queen's College, Oxford, the needles (*aiguilles*) being reminiscent of Eglesfield, the founder⁸; by an ancient custom at Queen's College, the Bursar on New Year's day presents every one who dines in hall with a silk-threaded needle, saying

¹ *Chron. Giles*, p. 63; *Eulogium*, iii. 421.

² P. 4; the Pseudo-Elmham, p. 11, is fuller, but does not really add anything.

³ *History of England*, ii. 388.

⁴ *History of England*, iii. 455.

⁵ *Memorials of Henry V*, i. 306.

⁶ *Henry IV*, iv. 90.

⁷ *Works*, i. 128; ed. Skeat.

⁸ Strickland, *Queens of England*, i. 502, where the original is considerably enlarged.

to him, 'Take this and be thrifty'.¹ If we must seek an explanation of the fancy on Henry's part, we may perhaps suppose that the needles were to be emblematical of heedful diligence in duty.

The Translator begins his third story² of the King's advice to his son as a direct continuation of the second: 'I remember also to have heard of the credible report of my said lord and master the Earl of Ormonde.' Stow again reproduces the Translator's narrative with exactitude, but on this occasion omits the reference to Ormonde, and gives the story on the authority of Livius. He attributes it to February, 1413, a date which is not unlikely. Tyler,³ commenting on the story, writes: 'The particulars as recorded by Stow are probably more the fruits of the writer's imagination than the faithful transcript of any recorded sentiments.' This was an unfortunate criticism, for Stow, as usual, was a faithful transcriber. Ormonde on his own part may, and indeed must, have drawn somewhat on his imagination for the speeches. Still we need not doubt that he records a version of what was current report in the Court at the time.

Stories of Henry IV's death-bed are not uncommon. The most famous is that which relates how the Prince stole the crown from the King's bedside, believing that he was already dead. This rests only on the authority of Monstrelet⁴, and is not found in any contemporary English authority. The best accredited is perhaps that of Capgrave⁵, who relates that when Henry's confessor, John Tille, urged him to repentance for his usurpation, the King made answer, that he could set no remedy, 'for my children will not suffer the regalye to go out of our lineage'. The same idea appears in Monstrelet, where the King asks his son how he should have any right to the crown 'since as you know well, I never had any'. 'My lord,' was the Prince's answer, 'as you have kept and guarded it by the sword, so do I intend to guard it all my life.' Whereto the King replied: 'Do as it seemeth good to you; for myself

¹ Luders, *Character of Henry V*, p. 148.

² See pp. 13-16 below.

⁴ *Chroniques*, ii. 338.

³ *Memorials of Henry V*, i. 307.

⁵ *Chronicle of England*, p. 302.

I commit me to God, and pray that He will take me to His mercy.' In both these accounts we have the same idea which finds expression in Ormonde's story of how the King sore repented him that he had ever charged himself with the crown, and of the high stomach with which the Prince declared that he would maintain his rights.

Other speeches are those given by Thomas Elmham in his supposed 'Letter from Henry IV to his son',¹ by Capgrave², and by John Strecche. Elmham makes the king point out to his son how his ancient vigour was turned to weakness, and advise him to swerve not to the right hand or to the left, to be cautious in prosperity and patient in adversity; he bids him pay his debts, and concludes with a blessing to him and his brothers. Capgrave's version is in a similar strain: See how your father, once valiant in arms, now lies dying; love and fear God; have only one wise confessor: be at leisure for God and your realm, but not for pleasures and sports³; do not listen to those who would sew pillow-cases on all armholes⁴: Finally he charges him to pay his debts, and concludes with his blessing. The speech given by Strecche is much to the same effect, with a further charge to love his brethren.⁵ Strecche makes the speech part of the scene at the King's actual death-bed in the Jerusalem Chamber. The Pseudo-Elmham⁶ professes to give the King's dying words, but they are merely a rhetorical expansion of the statement of Tito Livio⁷, that before the King died he gave his son his blessing. The speeches given by Elmham, Capgrave, and Strecche are

¹ Wright, *Political Songs*, ii. 120.

² *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, pp. 110-11.

³ This almost looks like a covert allusion to the Prince's youthful wildness.

⁴ Ezekiel xiii. 18.

⁵ *Additional MS.*, 35295, f. 264^{vo}. As this Chronicle has never been printed I will quote the speech in full:—'Fili, cerne, corpus tui genitoris, quod olim procerum et insigne fuit et multis timidum et valde nobile, set fili, eccine, modo vermibus esca data, quia iam ad mortem tendo. Fili mi, deum time, et mandata eius obserua; eius ecclesiam orna et honora; fratres tuos dilige; et mea solue debita; populum rege; iuste iudica; secundum deum in omnibus te gubernare. Set regnum istud, in quo multum laboramus, tibi linquo, et omnia mea bona terrena cum nostri saluatoris gratia et benevolentia, et cum mea eciam benedictione sempiterna. Nam ego spero deum videre in viuientium terra, et hic ego mortem prestolor sub dei mei mitissima misericordia.'

⁶ pp. 13, 14.

⁷ p. 5.

commonplace ; but they resemble one another, and also Ormonde's account, sufficiently to justify us in supposing that they are not mere invention. At all events these various independent accounts make it certain that reports of some special advice given by the dying King to his son were current at the time.

As for that matter in Ormonde's speeches which is peculiar, it was natural that Henry IV should have felt anxious about the possibilities of enmity between the two brothers, remembering not only their late rivalry, but also his own youthful experiences of the family feuds of royal princes. Henry V on his part was to show that as King he could forget the past, and command and win the loyal support of his brothers ; also that he would not overlook any treason amongst those of his own family, but punish with severity Richard of Cambridge, his cousin, and Henry Scrope, his trusted friend and councillor.

The next story¹ is introduced by the Translator, 'as I have learned of the credence before rehearsed, and also as the common fame is'. Stow repeats it as from Livius, without anything to show whence it really came. The subject is of Henry's riotous youth, and how he would lie in wait for and rob his own receivers. It is no doubt parcel of the story² a little further on which relates how after his accession to the throne Henry V called to him the followers of his young acts and dismissed them with rich gifts. So it will be convenient to take the two together. That these stories were matter of common fame we know from the brief but independent narrative of Robert Fabyan :³

'This man, before the death of his fader, applyed him unto all vyce and insolency, and drewe unto hym all ryottours and wylde disposed persones ; but after he was admytted to the rule of the lande, anone and suddenly he became a newe man, and tourned al that rage into sobernesse and wyse sadnesse, and the vyce into constant vertue. And for he wolde con-tynewe the vertue, and not to be reduced thereunto by the familiartytie of his olde nyse company, he therefore, after

¹ See p. 17 below.

² See p. 19 below.

³ *Chron.*, p. 577.

rewardes to them gyven, charged theym upon payne of theyr lyves, that none of theym were so hardy to come within x. myle of such place as he were lodgyd, after a day by him assigned.'

Polydore Vergil¹ and Hall² have matter of a similar character which they probably derived from Fabyan. For the story of Henry's riotous companions as Prince, and dismissal of them after he became King, Fabyan and the Translator of Livius, as reproduced by Stow, are the leading authorities. But this story must be taken with the common statement of early writers that Henry had lived wildly as Prince, but reformed his conduct after he became King. Tito Livio³ says briefly: 'he exercised meanly the feats of Venus and of Mars and other pastimes of youth for so long as the King his father lived'; but afterwards 'he reformed and amended his life and manners, so that there was never no youth nor wildness that might have any place in him, but all his acts were suddenly changed into gravity and discretion.' This was amplified by the Pseudo-Elmham⁴ in his usual rhetorical manner. Even in Henry's own lifetime Walsingham had written thus⁵:

'As soon as he was made King he was changed suddenly into another man, zealous for honesty, modesty and gravity, there being no sort of virtue that he was not anxious to display.'

Very similar is the story in the version of the *Brut*⁶ known as *Caxton's Chronicles*, which in its present shape was written between 1464 and 1470:—

{ 'He was a noble prince after he was King and crowned. Howbeit, tofore in his youth he had been wild and reckless, and spared nothing of his lusts and desires, but accomplished them after his liking; but as soon as he was crowned, anointed and sacred, anon suddenly he was changed into a new man, and set all his intent to live virtuously, in maintaining of Holy Church, destroying of heretics, keeping justice, and defending of his realm and subjects.'

¹ *Angl. Hist.*, p. 439, ed. 1557.

² *Chron.*, p. 46.

³ pp. 4, 5; see p. 17 below; see also what the Translator says of Henry's mutability in his youth on p. 40.

⁴ pp. 12, 15.

⁵ *Hist. Angl.*, ii. 290.

⁶ *Brut*, p. 494.

In another and unique version of the *Brut*, contained in Lambeth MS. 84, of which the date can be fixed precisely to the spring of 1479, there is a curious tale which gives in a fuller form the legend preserved by Ormonde and Fabyan. It is too long to quote and I must be content to summarize it. Henry, as Prince of Wales, intended greatly to riot, and drew to wild company. Divers gentlemen and gentlewomen followed his will and his desire, and all his household were well pleased with his governance except four men, who were full heavy and sore and fain would have him forsake riot; therefore he hated these four men most of all his household. When Henry became King he summoned all his household to come before him. They were all fully glad, supposing that he would promote them to great offices. In their familiarity they came winking and smiling, and making a nice semblance unto him. But the King kept his countenance sadly, and said unto them: 'Sirs, ye are the people that I have cherished and maintained in riot and wild governance; and here I give you all in commandment that from this day forward ye forsake all misgovernance and live after the laws of Almighty God, and of our land.' Then he rewarded them all richly, and bade them void his household and live as good men, and never more come into his presence, because he would have no occasion whereby he should fall to riot again. But the four persons, which were sorry of his governance, he loved afterwards best, and made them great lords. Then King Henry sent to Dame Katherine Swynford,² Countess of Hereford, which was a well-governed woman, and kept the most worshipful household and the best ruled in the land, for men that were of good disposition. And she sent him twelve gentlemen of sad governance. 'And so this gracious King forsook all wildness and kept strictly his laws with righteousness and justice.'

The Ormonde story shows that this legend was a good deal

¹ *Brut*, pp. 594-5; the passage is quoted by Dr. Brie for the first time.

² This is a strange error. Catherine Swynford, who was step-mother of Henry IV and duchess of Lancaster, died in 1403. Henry V's own grandmother, Joan Bohun, Countess of Hereford, survived till 1419. Probably the original story had simply 'his grandmother, the Countess of Hereford', which was interpreted by a later compiler to mean Catherine Swynford, as his grandmother by marriage.

older than the date of the Lambeth MS. The existence of three various versions of the story of Henry's riotous company is sufficient proof that the legend was widely spread. It is, moreover, clear that it can be traced back at least to the middle of the fifteenth century. It is therefore vain to write, as Mr. Solly-Flood did, of Robert Fabyan having laid the foundation-stone of an edifice of calumny eighty years after Henry's death: Fabyan here as elsewhere only reproduces what he found in earlier writers. Even Mr. Solly-Flood admits that the story of the Prince robbing his own receivers may be an exaggeration of some harmless freak.¹ As for the absence of any evidence in records of gifts made by the new King to unworthy servants, that is not to be wondered at. The reason for such presents would hardly appear openly; nor need they have been formal grants. As a matter of fact, many servants of Henry V did receive rewards in the early months of his reign, though there is nothing to show that they did not deserve them. The larger question of Henry's change of conduct rests on still better and older authority. Whatever construction we may put upon it, it does not seem possible to reject it as entirely unfounded. That Henry of Monmouth was recklessly dissolute during the years when he was busy with the Welsh war, and with the direction of the Council, it is impossible to believe. But with all allowance for possible distortion through the ecclesiastical prejudices of contemporary chroniclers, there must have been some foundation for the story of his change into a new man. This does not involve the acceptance of the exaggerated form given to the story by Elizabethan dramatists. Of the legends of Henry's riotous conduct as Prince I shall, however, have something more to say later on.

The next of the Ormonde stories is the statement that Henry intended to establish a house of Celestins at Isleworth, but that the brethren, whom he brought from France, went back, either because they could not agree with the manner of the country or with the air.² This is confirmed by the

¹ *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, iii, 114, 119, 129.

² See p. 20 below.

statement of Walsingham¹ that Henry founded three monasteries at Sheen, for Carthusians, Celestins, and Brigittines, and by the fact that only the first and the third of these houses had any permanent existence. The reason for the failure of the Celestin foundation seems to be peculiar to the notice below. Otherwise the story is only remarkable for the description of it by the Translator as 'heard of the tofore credible report'.

Thus far the Ormonde stories have been concerned chiefly with what we may call the Legend of Henry as Prince. The remainder are of a different character, and relate to historic events, though three of them are of interest as illustrating the King's character. The other, and first, does not concern Henry himself at all. This is the story² of how when Sigismund, King of the Romans, came to England on April 30, 1416, Humphrey of Gloucester rode into the water at Dover to meet him with sword drawn, and would not suffer him to land until he had declared that he did not claim to exercise any Imperial rights in England. This story has been familiar through Holinshed,³ who clearly borrowed it from the Translator, though he attributes it to Livio himself. The incident receives corroboration from the existence of a similar story in the *Life of Henry V* written by Robert Redmayne⁴ about 1540. But in that version the scene takes place at Calais, where Sigismund arrived by sea from Boulogne, and was not allowed to land till he had given the required assurance to the Earl of Warwick, as captain of the town. There has been a disposition to question the truth of the tale as resting chiefly on the authority of Holinshed, and likely to have been invented in the sixteenth century from a desire to emphasize the complete political independence of England.⁵ But though Ormonde gives it only as what he had 'heard of credible report', there is nothing improbable about it. The theory of the imperial dignity of the English crown was familiar in the

¹ *Hist. Angl.*, ii. 300.

² See pp. 67 and 68 below.

³ *Chron.*, iii. 85.

⁴ *Memorials of Henry V*, p. 49.

⁵ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxviii. 241; Mr. Vickers (*Humphrey of Gloucester*, p. 37) argues in favour of the story.

time of Henry V. John Page, in his poem on the Siege of Rouen,¹ which was probably composed in 1420, writes thus of Henry V:—

‘He ys Kyng excellent,
And vnto non othyr obedyent,
That levyth here in erthe be ryght,
But only vnto God almyght,
Withyn his owne emperoure,
And also Kyng and conqueroure.’

The story is one which would have appealed to Ormonde as illustrative of courtly etiquette and the Law of Heralds.

It is curious and unfortunate that we have no story from Ormonde of the campaign of Agincourt, in which he was present. Curious also that his first story of the French wars is one that he can have known only by hearsay. This is of the division of the spoil after the fall of Caen in September, 1417, nearly eight months before the Earl went again to France. It is introduced in the usual way as ‘heard of the report of the tofore named Earl of Ormonde’,² and is to the effect that after the capture of the town the King had all the greatest riches collected together and given to his brother Clarence, who divided them amongst his people who had deserved it. Henry reserved for himself only ‘a goodly French book, of what history I have not heard’. Remembering Henry’s literary tastes for works on hunting, goodly tales, and histories, we may conjecture that it was a volume of French Chronicles, or Romances of chivalry. At all events his choice is a characteristic personal touch. The story is further remarkable, since it does not appear in any contemporary writer, and is not quoted by any of the sixteenth-century historians.

The next story also is one that is peculiar to Ormonde. Its authenticity is, however, confirmed from other sources, though in some small details it can be shown to be inaccurate. Ormonde states that during the siege of Rouen a holy friar of the Order of St. Francis, whose name was Vincent, came and preached before the King.³ It is quite obvious that this

¹ *Collections of a London Citizen*, p. 24.

² See p. 92 below.

³ See pp. 130–2 below.

intends the famous Spanish friar, St. Vincent Ferrier, who did indeed come to preach before Henry V, though he was a Dominican. Thomas Otterbourne¹ relates that in 1418 Vincent Ferrier came at Henry's request to preach before him at Caen, and there foretold the death of the Count of Armagnac. Now Henry was at Caen in 1418 from April 23 till the end of May, and Armagnac was killed at Paris on June 12. The date for Otterbourne's story can therefore be fixed quite closely. Other information supports the date thus obtained. At the time of the process for Vincent's canonization in 1455 Oliver Rouxel deposed that he heard the English Herald deliver the King's summons to Vincent at Rennes. Various witnesses testified that at Caen Vincent healed a dumb child in the presence of the King and all the people. Eudo David not only witnessed this miracle, but also saw and heard Vincent celebrate mass and preach at Caen in the presence of the King, the Duke of Clarence, and many other lords.² St. Vincent Ferrier, who was making a missionary journey through northern France, is known to have been at Rennes on April 20-22, 1418. Though we cannot get so precise a date for his visit to Caen, all the evidence shows that it took place in the following month. Ormonde himself joined the English army at Caen about the end of April, so he may well have heard the friar's sermon, and have been one of the lords who were sitting in the hall when Vincent came out from his interview with the King and addressed to them his memorable words of commendation. The details given by Ormonde are peculiar, but they bear the impress of truth. His story is noteworthy both for the boldness of the preacher and for the proof which it affords of the personal power that Henry could exercise on the mind of one who, like himself, was convinced that he had a divine mission. The great preacher, who travelled through France to denounce the corruption of the time, found himself confronted with a Prince who believed that he was the scourge of God to punish it. It was in the same temper that Henry told his prisoners after Agincourt that his victory was not due to his own prowess, but was the work of God who

¹ *Chron.*, p. 280.

² H. Fages, *Hist. de St. Vintcent Ferrier*, iii. 96, 195, 217-9, 246-7.

was wroth for their sins.¹ With St. Vincent Ferrier's movements in the latter part of 1418 we are sufficiently acquainted to know that he could not have visited the English camp before Rouen. There is nothing very strange in the fact that Ormonde, when repeating the story from memory, should have misplaced it. Vincent died at Vannes on April 5, 1419; he was not canonized till June 23, 1455. It is the reference to the latter event which enables us to fix the earliest date at which Ormonde's narrative was written down. It is, I think, clear that this reference is part of the original text, and not an interpolation made by the Translator in 1513.

It is again rather strange that Ormonde has left us no story of the long siege of Rouen, at which he served. It is true that Holinshed² gives the 'Translator of Livius' as his authority for the fate of Alain Blanchard. But the Translator seems only to expand Tito Livio a little, after his accustomed manner, and not to add anything from another source.³ The Translator's own comment, 'What offence he had committed against the King my author maketh no mencion,' is omitted by Holinshed.

We now come to the last of Ormonde's tales, the long and interesting history of the Sire de Barbasan.⁴ This is in two sections, the first describing Barbasan's combat with Henry in the mines at Melun, and the second his subsequent captivity and release. Both are given in a somewhat shortened form by Holinshed,⁵ who quotes 'The Translator of Livius' as his authority for the first, but repeats the second without any acknowledgement. As for the main incident of the combat, Tito Livio⁶ makes no mention of the fighting in the mines at Melun, but relates that Barbasan defended himself from the charge of complicity in the murder of John of Burgundy, declaring that he had never consented thereto, and so escaped capital punishment, but was imprisoned for nine years, first at Paris and afterwards at Château Gaillard. The Pseudo-Elmham⁷ mentions that Henry V had taken a foremost part in

¹ *Chron. S. Denys*, v. 581.

² *Chronicles*, iii. 104.

³ See p. 136 below.

⁴ See pp. 167-71 below.

⁵ *Chronicles*, iii. 122-3.

⁶ p. 90.

⁷ p. 286.

the duels in the mines, but omits all reference to Barbasan's subsequent fate. The latter writer seems to derive his information from one version of Monstrelet,¹ where there is mention that Henry and Philip of Burgundy both took part in the fighting. Waurin² has a very similar account. Chastellain,³ somewhat later, is more detailed :

‘ The English King had a barrier erected in the mine, where he and the Duke of Burgundy, with a courage equal to their renown, fought for a long space hand to hand, with stroke of sword and lance, against two of their enemies, the one with Barbasan, and the other with Ovide Bourgeois. The glory of these men in fighting with two such high princes, and of those princes in having withstood two of the most valiant and tried soldiers of the time, is not a thing to be left untold.’

So Ormonde's story is not inauthentic, though he alone has supplied the romantic details to which it owes its charm. We may compare with it the stories of how Edward III fought unknown with Eustace de Ribault at Calais in 1349, and how John of Gaunt engaged in single combat with Jehan de Villemur before Limoges in 1370.⁴ Ormonde does not give his story of his own knowledge ; for though Hall⁵ includes Ormonde in a list of those who were present at Melun, we know that the Earl had left France early in 1420 to take up his office as deputy in Ireland.⁶ The combat in the mines is clearly part of the story which Ormonde learnt during his later service in France. Château Gaillard was recovered by the French, and Barbasan was released in February, 1430. Ormonde came again to France in the following April, and then no doubt heard the whole story. Barbasan's chivalrous refusal to leave his prison till he was absolved from his oath is characteristic of the man who had denounced the murder of John of Burgundy as a blot on his master's honour,⁷ and had held his own charge so nobly at Melun. That his escape from capital punishment should have been due to a technical point in the Law of Arms would of course have appealed to

¹ Ed. Buchon, p. 487 ; the text in Douët d'Arcq's edition (iii. 411-2) is different.

² ii. 328, Rolls Ser.

⁴ Froissart, iv. 79-81, vii. 251, ed. Luce.

⁶ See p. xvii above.

³ i. 157.

⁵ *Chronicle*, p. 102.

⁷ Monstrelet, iii. 347.

Ormonde. We are entitled to believe that it was not less welcome to Henry V, who could thus spare a gallant enemy in spite of his oath to punish all supporters of the Dauphin who could not clear themselves of complicity in the murder of John of Burgundy.¹

The stories preserved by the Earl of Ormonde are concerned so much with the traditions of the youthful career and character of Henry V that it is not out of place to touch briefly on those popular stories which do not appear amongst them. The most famous is the story of the Prince and the Chief Justice, which is too well known to need repetition. It is first found in Sir Thomas Elyot's *Boke named the Governor*, which was printed in 1531. In this version, when the Judge would not release the Prince's servant, the Prince all in a fury came up to the place of judgement, men thinking that he would have slain the Judge. The Judge, all unmoved, commits him to the prison of the King's Bench. Mr. Solly-Flood, in criticizing the story, alleged that 'there was not then, and never had been, neither was there ever for many years afterwards, such a place of custody as the prison of the King's Bench, neither did the Court of King's Bench ever commit to any prison at all'.² Recently Mr. Vernon Harcourt³ has shown that this criticism is inaccurate. As regards a further criticism, which sees an inherent improbability in the sending of the King's son to prison, Mr. Harcourt has pointed out that the actual words given by Elyot are that the Prince 'departed and went to the King's Bench', and has adduced evidence that 'going to the King's Bench was a symbolic act, signifying submission to the jurisdiction'.⁴ However, such criticism and reply concern only the possibility of the incident, and do not touch the ultimate form of the legend.

A few years after Elyot, Robert Redmayne⁵ refers to the story, with the addition that the Prince struck the Chief Justice, as being the cause of Henry's removal from the

¹ Tito Livio, p. 90, says Barbasan was found 'conscium dictae necis, non tamen culpabilem', and so escaped the penalty of death.

² *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2nd Ser., iii. 57.

³ *id.*, 3rd Ser., iv. 53, 54.

⁴ *id.*, iv. 55.

⁵ *Memorials of Henry V*, p. 11.

Council. Hall¹ has much the same account as Redmayne, describing how the Prince 'strake the Chief Justice with his fist in the face'; he further attaches to this story the alleged dismissal by Henry, when he became King, of the familiar companions with whom he had passed his young age. Stow² gives the story without addition in Elyot's own words. But Holinshed³ goes back to the version of Hall. So far the Chief Justice has been nameless, as he still is in Shakespeare. If, however, the story has any substance, William Gascoigne, who was Chief Justice from 1400 to 1413, must be intended. Sir John Whiddon, who was a judge of the Queen's Bench from 1553 to 1576, is said to have referred to the committal of the Prince to prison by Gascoigne; the authority for this is Richard Crompton's *Authoritie et Jurisdiction des Courts*⁴, which appeared in 1594; but the accuracy of the statement is open to question,⁵ and in any case it rests only on the fact that Gascoigne was Chief Justice throughout the reign of Henry IV. One germ of the legend is no doubt to be found in the tale of the 'hurling in Eastcheap' in 1410, wherein Henry's brothers Thomas and John were concerned. This tale is given briefly in various London Chronicles.⁶ But the most noteworthy account is that given by Stow,⁷ who relates that upon St. John the Baptist Eve, 1410, Thomas and John, the King's sons, were at supper in Eastcheap, when there happened a great debate between their men and other of the Court, until the Mayor and sheriffs with other of the citizens appeased the same. For this they were called to answer before the King, when William Gascoigne, Chief Justice, required them to put them in the King's grace; whereunto they answered that they had not offended, but had done their best in stinting debate and maintaining of the peace: upon which answer the King remitted all his ire and dismissed them. Stow first gave the story in the 1570 edition of his *Summary of English Chronicles*, from the 'Register of Mayors'. This

¹ *Chron.*, p. 46.

² *Annales*, pp. 342-3, ed. 1631.

³ *Chronicles*, iii. 61.

⁴ p. 79.

⁵ See Solly-Flood ap. *Trans. Royal Historical Society*, iii. 59, 60.

⁶ See *Chronicles of London*, pp. 268, 341.

⁷ *Survey of London*, i. 217; it had appeared previously in his *Summary* and *Annales*.

authority, which Stow quotes often, was clearly in some respects a fuller version of the London Chronicle than any of those now extant. It is, I think, quite likely that Elyot's story may have been based on some London Chronicle since lost, though very probably supplemented from the tradition of the law-courts. At all events, having regard to the early confirmation of other legends of Henry V afforded by Ormonde's stories, it would be rash to dismiss it altogether, or to find in it, as some ¹ have done, no more than a reminiscence of a similar authentic incident in the life of Edward II when Prince of Wales. At the same time the tale in the London Chronicles does not touch Henry V at all, and if Henry was concerned in any such incident the date must, as Dr. Wylie ² suggests, have been earlier than 1410, or 1411. To that extent we must also assume that the legend had some other foundation additional to the story of the 'hurling in Eastcheap'. Mr. L. W. Vernon Harcourt ³ has lately argued that the story may be connected with a gross contempt of court in which Sir John Fastolf of Nacton was concerned in 1403. It is true that Shakespeare ⁴ places the incident before the time of Archbishop Scrope's rebellion in 1405. But the author of *The Famous Victories* ⁵ not less clearly connects it with the 'hurling in Eastcheap', and puts it towards the close of the reign of Henry IV. Shakespeare ⁶ himself makes allusion to the intervention of the sheriff, and puts this incident before the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. Of course no argument can be built on the chronology of the dramatists, who allowed themselves the fullest licence in the handling of the details of their history. It is equally vain to suppose that the dispute with the Chief Justice had anything to do with the Prince's dismissal from the Council. The idea that Henry's youthful riots led in part to his political disgrace seems to appear first in the Translator.⁷

It is possible that something may have been contributed to

¹ Solly-Flood, *u. s.*, iii. 150, 151.

² *Henry IV*, iv 95-9, and the notes there.

³ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd Ser., iv. 58-60.

⁴ *Henry IV*, pt. ii, act ii, sc. 2.

⁵ *Shakespeare's Library*, pt. ii, vol. i, pp. 331-5.

⁶ *Henry IV*, pt. i, act ii, sc. 4.

⁷ See p. 11 below.

the story of the Prince and the Chief Justice by the Coventry legend that John Horne, the mayor in 1412, 'arrested the Prince in the Priory of Coventry.' That legend cannot, however, be carried back with any certainty to an earlier date than the reign of Elizabeth.¹ The most that can be said for it is that it shows the prevalence of a legend that Henry during his career as Prince came into conflict with the law. The story of the Prince and the Chief Justice, if it has any authenticity, might have been expected to appear in Ormonde's reminiscences. But on the other hand, Ormonde's knowledge was of the Court, and he need not have been familiar with the City legends of the boisterous life of the young princes in London.

To the same cycle of City legends the story of Falstaff should also belong; but this is certainly in its familiar dress an invention of the Elizabethan dramatists. In the *Famous Victories of Henry V*² Oldcastle appears as one of the Prince's boon companions. Probably also Oldcastle figured originally in Shakespeare. The Prince still addresses Falstaff as 'my old lad of the castle', and we are told that 'Oldcastle died a martyr and this is not the man'.³ It is said that Oldcastle's name was changed in deference to the Lord Cobham of the day, and so 'the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte by abusing Sir John Falstophe'. The historical Sir John Fastolf may, through his defamation for cowardice at Patay in 1429,⁴ have contributed something more than his name to the character of the theatrical Sir John Falstaff. But in real life Sir John Fastolf was a good and tried soldier, and a hard money-maker; 'cruel and vengible he hath been ever, and for the most part without pity and mercy,' wrote one of his own servants.⁵ With the Falstaff of the plays neither Fastolf nor Oldcastle have anything in common, unless it be that Fastolf owned the Boar's Head in

¹ Hearne, Appendix to J. Fordun, v. 1439-74; Solly-Flood, *u. s.*, iii. 50-52. See also some correspondence in the *Athenaeum* for October, 1910.

² pp. 323, 325, 338, 339.

³ *Henry IV*, pt. i, act i, sc. 2; *Henry IV*, pt. ii, act v, epilogue.

⁴ There is reference to it under Fastolf's own name in *Henry VI*, pt. i, act iii, sc. 2, and act iv, sc. 1.

⁵ *Paston Letters*, iii. 89.

Southwark, and that Oldcastle's house, Cobham's Inn, was not far from the Boar's Head in Eastcheap. Recently Mr. L. Vernon Harcourt has sought to find the prototype of Falstaff in an earlier Sir John Fastolf of Nacton, who, as noted above, was concerned in a gross contempt of court in 1403, when he was bound over to do no hurt to the jurors in the suit or others. It is a curious coincidence that in this suit the plaintiff was Oldcastle's father-in-law, John, Lord Cobham.¹ There is, however, no evidence to connect this earlier Sir John Fastolf with Henry of Monmouth. The greatest interest of the story is the proof which it affords that such an incident need not have been recorded on the rolls of the court; the absence of any such record in the case of the Prince was claimed by Mr. Solly-Flood² to be conclusive that the story of his misconduct in court and imprisonment was absolutely untrue. If the character of Fastolf does not fit in with that of Falstaff, still less does that of Oldcastle.³ Nevertheless it is obviously impossible to dissociate Oldcastle altogether from the legend as presented by the Elizabethan dramatists. It is, moreover, an undoubted fact that Oldcastle had been a friend of Henry as Prince, and that Henry as King, after a vain attempt to convert him from his errors, utterly rejected him from his service and presence.⁴ If Oldcastle was a hero and a martyr in the eyes of Elizabethan Puritans, he was nothing of the sort to the writers and politicians of his own time. It does not seem unlikely that in the later legend we have a reminiscence of contemporary scandal which attached to Henry through his youthful association with the unpopular Lollard leader. It is noteworthy that Henry's political opponents were Oldcastle's religious persecutors; and also that those writers who charge Henry with wildness as Prince find his peculiar merit as King in the maintaining of Holy Church

¹ *u. s.*, iv. 58, 59.

² *u. s.*, iii. 146.

³ On the whole question see further Halliwell-Phillips, *The Character of Sir John Falstaff*; Gairdner, *Studies in English History*, pp. 54-77; Duthie, *The Case of Sir John Fastolf*; Baeske, *Oldcastle-Falstaff in der englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare*, Palaestra, vol. I, 1905; Dr. Sidney Lee ap. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xviii. 239; L. W. Vernon Harcourt, *The Two Sir John Fastolfs*, *u. s.*

⁴ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, ii. 291; *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, p. 2 (Engl. Hist. Soc.); Livius, p. 6; and p. 22 below.

and destroying of heretics. A supposed change in his attitude on questions of religion may possibly furnish a partial solution for his alleged 'change suddenly into a new man'.

Another story, which it is somewhat remarkable should not have figured in Ormonde's reminiscences, is that of the sending of the tennis-balls to Henry V by the Dauphin. There is no mention of it by Tito Livio, but the Translator has interpolated a brief reference to it from the *Policronicon*.¹ The incident is recorded by Thomas Elmham in his *Liber Metricus*,² which was written in 1418, by Otterbourne,³ and by John Strecche.⁴ Otterbourne and Strecche probably wrote early in the reign of Henry VI. The story appears also in a contemporary ballad attributed to Lydgate,⁵ in the *Brut*,⁶ and in the *Policronicon*.⁷ Other fifteenth-century references are contained in Capgrave's *Life of Henry V*⁸ (which, however, only follows Elmham), and in the *Croyland Chronicle*.⁹ Otterbourne says that the present came in Lent, whilst Henry was at Kenilworth. Henry is known to have been at Kenilworth on Feb. 27, 1414¹⁰; this is a probable enough date, since the first ambassadors of France had gone home in the previous month. It is further remarkable that, apart from the ballad, the fullest form of the story is that given by Strecche, who was a canon of Kenilworth. Since Strecche's account has never been printed in England I will translate it here:—

'The French, in the blindness of harmful pride having no foresight, with words of gall answered foolishly to the ambassadors of the King of England, that because King Henry was young they would send him little balls to play with, and soft cushions to rest on, until what time he should grow to a man's strength. At which news the King was much troubled in spirit, yet with short, wise, and seemly words, he thus addressed those who stood about him: "If God so wills and my life lasts, I will within a few months play such a game of ball in the Frenchmen's streets, that they shall lose their jest and gain but grief for their game. If they sleep too long upon

¹ p. 15 below.

² *Memorials of Henry V*, p. 101.

³ *Chron.*, p. 275.

⁴ *Additional MS.*, 35295, f. 266.

⁵ Nicolas, *London Chronicle*, pp. 216-7.

⁶ p. 375.

⁷ p. 225.

⁸ *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, p. 114.

⁹ ap. Gale, *Scriptores*, i. 500.

¹⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Henry V*, i. 172-3.

their cushions in their chamber, perchance before they wish it I will rouse them from their slumbers by hammering on their doors at dawn.”’

Dr. Oskar Emmerig¹ has with much skill traced the origin of the tale to the mediaeval romances of Alexander the Great, in which Darius sends the Greek King scornful presents, including a hand-ball. I am not, however, able to follow Dr. Emmerig in thinking that the story must be a mere invention of the ballad-makers, and borrowed from them by the chroniclers. Elmham, Otterbourne, and Strecche were all strictly contemporary, and not over likely to have taken such a tale from the ballad; Elmham and Strecche at all events were in a position to be exceptionally well informed. It is just as natural that the idea should have been adopted from the Romance by the French Prince as by Lydgate. The Knight of the early fifteenth century modelled his conduct on the heroes of Romance. The sending of the tennis-balls, together with such incidents as Henry V's challenging the Dauphin to single combat, his fight with Barbasan, and Sir John Cornwall's wager with the Sire de Graville that he would cross the Seine in the face of the French army,² may all be more or less conscious imitations of incidents in Romances of Chivalry. The tennis-ball story appears too often in writers of the fifteenth century to make it probable that it should be the invention of a ballad-maker, however popular. That the story was current in various forms we learn from Strecche, who alone adds the present of a cushion. In the *Famous Victories* the Dauphin sends ‘a carpet and a tunne of Tennis-balls’:

‘Meaning that you are more fit for a Tennis-court
Then a field, and more fitter for a carpet then the camp.’

It is most unlikely that the dramatist was acquainted with Strecche's chronicle, and he probably obtained his detail from some lost ballad or legend. A fifteenth-century letter,³

¹ *The Bataile of Agincourt*, Nürnberg, 1906, and ‘Dariusbrief und Tennisballgeschichte’ ap. *Englische Studien*, xxxix. 362-401, 1908.

² Monstrelet, iii. 276; Strecche ap. *Additional MS.*, 35295, f. 271, an independent version.

³ Halliwell-Phillips, *Letters of the Kings of England*, i. 77.

supposed to have been addressed by Henry V to his cousin of France, thanks the Dauphin, with much jesting, for his gifts, and assures him that his mock shall turn to shame, 'for ye wot of right I am master of the game.' This letter may well be an invention, but whether genuine or not was clearly intended for a retort to the present of the tennis-balls.

The late but unique Lambeth MS. of the *Brut* contains two stories, to which for their novelty I must make reference. The first is of two lords of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who skirmished together till men were slain on both parties. Henry summoned them to Windsor, where they arrived as he was going to dinner. 'By the faith that I owe to God and St. George,' said the King, 'if they have not agreed and accorded by the time I have eaten my oysters, they shall both be hanged ere I have supped.' So they agreed, and came in when the King had eaten his oysters. Henry declared thereon that if they or any of his lords made any war thereafter they should die. 'So after that there durst no lord make any party or strife; and thus he began to keep his laws and justice, and therefore he was beloved and bedreaded.'¹

The second story is of the siege of Rouen.² It was a custom at Rouen on St. Denis' Eve³ to make a king in every house. When that day came the people of the suburbs within the English lines went to Henry, and sought permission in observance of their customable usage to make in every house the eldest son a king on that night. Henry granted their request, so that it were not done in his despite. In the evening by his bidding the 'kings' appeared before him. Then an old French knight, who was present, said: 'Now, I trow, is the time come that Rouen shall be won, after the prophecy.' In reply to Henry's question what the prophecy might be, the old knight continued: 'This town of Rouen shall never be won till there come a king, born of a woman and in a nun's habit, with thirty kings in his retinue to lay siege thereto.' So Henry, to fulfil the prophecy,

¹ *Brut*, p. 595.

² *id.*, p. 598.

³ The date is impossible, whether it means the feast of St. Denys the Archbishop of Paris on Oct. 9, or of St. Denys the Pope on Dec. 26. Rouen surrendered on St. Wolstan's Day, Jan. 19; the besieged had asked for terms on New Year's Eve.

commanded every one of the 'kings' to be set in divers garrisons against the town. And the next day was Rouen yielded to the King.

Of these two stories the first is given as an epilogue to that account of Henry's riotous life as Prince and conversion when he became King, which I have noted above as illustrative of one of Ormonde's stories.¹ The second would of course have been within Ormonde's knowledge of events at Rouen. It is tempting to conjecture that we may in these stories have some further survivals of the Earl's reminiscences.

As a final subject I propose to consider what influence the work of the Translator has had in the framing of our English histories and opinions of Henry V. The traditional view of Henry as the hero-king must no doubt be traced back for its literary origin to the official biography compiled by Tito Livio. Though Tito Livio's *Life* remained in manuscript till 1716, it had through the writings of Stow and Holinshed given colour to all subsequent opinion, and not least it had supplied much of the ultimate basis for the historical, as distinct from the legendary, account embodied in the plays of Shakespeare. Hall had not been acquainted with Tito Livio at all; but though in many things Holinshed was content to reproduce his predecessor of forty years before, he had for the main framework of his history of Henry V gone direct to the original *Life* by Tito Livio. Yet Holinshed acknowledged that he had made additions from the work of the English Translator, with which he was acquainted through a copy in the possession of John Stow. Though Holinshed cites the Translator only for the reference to Alain Blanchard and for the story of Barbasan, he had likewise taken from it direct the account of the reception of Sigismund, and through the medium of Stow's *Summary* an abbreviated version of the stories of Henry's riotous youth, of his disguising, and of his dismissal of his unworthy companions. Stow on his part quotes the Translator by name only for the disguising; but he also quotes him verbatim, though without acknowledgement, for the death-bed speeches of Henry IV, and the

¹ See p. xxxi above.

dismissal of the unworthy companions. But Stow's debt went far beyond the faithful repetition of the Ormonde stories. As the footnotes to the text here given show, Stow, when professing to quote Livius or Monstrelet, was commonly content to reproduce the precise words of the Translator, even where that writer had varied or added to the sense of his original. It is true that in a few places there are indications that Stow may also have used Livius in the Latin. But in the main his narrative for the reign of Henry V is that of the Translator. This circumstance has led some recent historians to quote Stow's *Annales* as an independent authority, which, as it seemed, did not merely copy the Latin of Tito Livio. In his own time Stow was overshadowed by Holinshed. His *Annales* did not appear in their extended form till 1592, and his *Summary* and *Chronicles of England* (printed in 1580) were comparatively slight in form, and could not compete in authority with the more ambitious work of his rival. So it was to Holinshed that the author of *The Famous Victories of Henry V* and Shakespeare were indebted primarily for most of their information. But Holinshed is only the link through which we must go back through Stow to the Translator and to Tito Livio. If Holinshed was well acquainted with the Latin original of Tito Livio, yet he must have derived some colouring of opinion as well as added material from the Translator. It is perhaps a curious illustration of the literary convention of the age that those passages of our *Life*, which are given both by Stow and by Holinshed, are quoted by Holinshed as from Stow; and that those passages, which Holinshed quoted independently, were not afterwards made use of by Stow in the enlarged version of his *Annales*. Before Stow and Holinshed, Nicholas Harpsfield had quoted the Translator's *Life*; but his *Historia Anglicana* is slight in itself and was little, if at all, known to other writers of the reign of Elizabeth. Somewhat later John Speed, whose *History of Great Britaine* first appeared in 1611, quotes the Translator of Livius both for the story of the Prince robbing his own receivers, and for the story of Henry's disguising.¹ He also gives the dying advice of Henry IV to

¹ pp. 765, 766; ed. 1632.

his son, which he combines with the story of the taking away of the crown, from the 'vulgar chronicles', and the story of Barbasan.¹ It does not, however, appear that Speed had any knowledge of the Translator's *Life* independently of what he found in the chronicles of Stow and Holinshed.

The use which the Elizabethan historians themselves made of the Translator is of less interest than the material which they supplied from this source to Shakespeare and his predecessors. *The Famous Victories of Henry V* was first produced before September 3, 1588, though not licensed till 1594, nor printed till 1598.² So it was written soon after the appearance of the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* in January, 1586-7, and a good many years later than Stow's *Summary* and *Chronicles*. The play opens with a scene between the Prince and his worthless companions, Ned and Tom. 'Think you not that it was a villainous part of me to rob my father's receivers,' asks Henry, thus establishing a perversion of Ormonde's story which has been somewhat persistent. Presently the Receivers come in and get rated by the Prince, who boasts that he had 'feared them with words'. Then follows a scene in which several citizens discuss the Prince:—

'I dare not call him thief, but sure he is one of these
taking fellows . . .'

'I hear say, if he use it long,
His father will cut him off from the crown.'

Whilst they talk appears a boy with news from the Counter.

'About two hours ago, there came the young Prince and three or four more of his companions, and called for wine good store, and then they sent for a noise of musicians and were very merry.' Soon they went into the street and fell to fighting, so that none could part them, until the Mayor and Sheriffs were sent for, and with much ado the young Prince was carried to the Counter. The scene shifts, and the Mayor and Sheriffs are brought before the King; to whom they defend themselves, because the Prince with a very disordered company having come to the old tavern in Eastcheap had

¹ pp. 762-3, 801.

² Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, ii. 258.

³ See Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, pt. ii, vol. i, pp. 323-77.

raised a fray, so that they knew not what to do, but for their own safeguard sent him to ward. Thereupon the King discharges them. 'Well have they done and like faithful subjects.'

This is a very palpable reproduction of Stow's story from the 'Register of Mayors'. It is followed immediately by the dispute of the Prince and the Chief Justice, which is based on Holinshed and represents Henry as giving the Judge a box on the ear. So the Prince is committed to the Fleet, but almost at once reappears at liberty in the company of Ned and Tom. When Henry is king the first thing he will do 'shall be to put my Lord Chief Justice out of office', and make Ned his Chief Justice. Henry is going to the Court, for his father lies very sick.

Fockey. Will you go to the Court with that coat so full of needles?

Hen. V. Cloak, ilat-holes, needles and all was of mine own devising, and therefore I will wear it.

Tom. I pray you my Lord, what may be the meaning thereof?

Hen. V. Why man, 'tis a sign that I stand upon thorns, till the Crown be on my head.

Fockey. Or that every needle might be a prick to their hearts that repine at your doings.'

So the Prince goes to the Court, and is admitted to the presence of the King, who laments for his son, 'no sooner out of one prison, but into another.' Reversing the account in Ormonde's story, the King is made to order that none come with his son. The Prince enters with a dagger in his hand. The King rebukes him :

'Oh my son, thou knowest that these thy doings will end thy father's days.'

'Thou fearest not to approach the presence of thy sick father in that disguised sort. I tell thee, my son, that there is never a needle in thy cloak, but it is a prick to my heart . . . and wherefore thou bringest that dagger in thy hand I know not but by conjecture.'

In a feeble travesty of the original the Prince renders the dagger to his father, abandons his wild and reprobate company, and tears the ruffianly cloak from his back. So the King pardons him, and the Prince declares :

'Even this day I am born new again.'

The next scene opens on the King's death-bed. The Prince

enters to explain that he had removed the crown, believing his father was already dead. This and the brief subsequent speeches, closing with the King's actual death, rest on the account of Monstrelet in Holinshed's version.

The new reign requires naturally a new scene. The Prince's boon companions are anticipating their good fortune, when Henry appears, bids them mend their manners, and orders them

‘Not upon pain of death to approach my presence
By ten miles space, then if I hear well of you,
It may be I will do somewhat for you.’

His old nice company thus disposed of, Henry bids the Archbishop of Canterbury speak on the embassy to France. There is a brief debate, modelled on Holinshed's narrative after Hall. The French ambassadors deliver the tun of tennis-balls, and Henry declares for war. Before the scene changes to France the Chief Justice comes in, is reconciled to the new King, and made Protector of the Realm in his absence. The second half of the play is taken up with the invasion of France, the battle of Agincourt, the courting of Katherine, and Henry's triumph. Its main historical fabric is derived from Holinshed, and is of no special interest in the present connexion.

In *The Famous Victories* the legend of Prince Henry's riotous youth is strung together very loosely from the Ormonde stories and Stow's narrative of 'the hurling in Eastcheap', with some additions from Holinshed. Sir John Oldcastle appears in a small part as one of Henry's companions, but he is no more Falstaff than he is the Oldcastle of real life. The old play is poor stuff both as drama and literature, but it shows us very clearly how the material was brought together for more artistic treatment.

In Shakespeare's plays the scenes of Henry's riotous youth are similarly compounded from the Ormonde stories of his interview with his father, of his loose companions, and dismissal of his unworthy favourites when he became king. With these are similarly interwoven the stories of the hurling in Eastcheap, and of the quarrel with the Chief Justice, together with some details found in Holinshed, but not in Stow nor in the Translator. The unauthentic Falstaff, who now plays so large a part in the legend, is substantially of the poet's own creation.

In the *First Part of Henry IV* the Prince and his boon companions plan the robbery on Gadshill, and the Prince appears to take the booty from his own servant.¹ In this Shakespeare seems to go back to the original story of how Henry would lie in wait for and rob *his own* receivers. The scene with Falstaff in Eastcheap,² when the Prince bids the old knight stand for his father and examine him upon the particulars of his life, is perhaps a sort of travesty on the story of the interview between Prince and King preserved by Ormonde. The scene seems to close with a direct reminiscence of how the robbed receivers were given their discharge for so much money as they had lost, with special rewards for those who had resisted best, when Henry says: 'The money shall be paid back again with advantage.' The previous intervention of the Sheriff and the watch is borrowed from Stow's story of the 'hurling in Eastcheap', though not in the slavish fashion of *The Famous Victories*. In the old play there was no attempt to make Henry's riotous youth harmonize with his real character. But Shakespeare's Henry

('Will so offend to make offence a skill,
Redeeming time when least men think I will.')

In Act iii, sc. 2 of *Henry IV, Part I* we have the interview of the father and son, for which Shakespeare once more goes back to Ormonde's original story. The King dismisses his lords that he may have some private conference with the Prince, who purges himself:

'As, in reproof of many tales devised,—
Which oft the ear of greatness needs must hear,—
By smiling pick-thanks and base newsmongers.'

The incidents of the fantastic disguising and the dagger are dropped, but in its spirit Shakespeare's scene reproduces the original more faithfully than did *The Famous Victories*. Though the scene is misdated (Shakespeare puts it before the battle of Shrewsbury) there is an historical touch in its association with the Prince's dismissal:

'Thy place in Council thou hast rudely lost,
Which by thy younger brother is supplied.'

¹ Act i, sc. 2, and Act ii, sc. 2.

² Act ii, sc. 4.

In the *Second Part of Henry IV*¹ the story of the Prince and the Chief Justice appears incidentally. This is taken from the version of Holinshed. The Chief Justice is introduced as 'the nobleman who committed the prince for striking him about Bardolph'. He rebukes Falstaff for misleading his master. 'For the box of the ear that the prince gave you, he gave it like a rude prince, and you took it like a sensible lord,' says Falstaff.

The news of his father's sickness brings the Prince to thought of amendment.² The King, on his part, has forebodings of what may come of his eldest son's wildness, yet he commends him to Thomas of Clarence³ :—

'How chance thou art not with the Prince thy brother?
He loves thee, and thou dost neglect him, Thomas;
Thou hast a better place in his affection
Than all thy brothers: cherish it, my boy;
And noble offices thou mayst effect
Of mediation, after I am dead,
Between his greatness and thy other brethren.'

Though the relationship of the brothers is thus turned about, the idea is borrowed clearly from the King's advice to the Prince as given by Ormonde.

The scene where the Prince takes the crown from his father's bedside is, as noted above, derived from Monstrelet through Holinshed. The subsequent speeches, and especially that of the Prince in his defence, may owe something to Ormonde.

The last Act of the *Second Part of Henry IV* is based almost entirely on the composite legend. Warwick and the Chief Justice fear that all will be overturned, and nobles have 'to strike sail to spirits of vile sort'. The new King appears and greets the Chief Justice: 'You are, I think, assured I love you not'; but in reply to the Judge's manly defence bids him, 'still bear the balance and the sword.'—

'You shall be as a father to my youth:
My voice shall sound as you do prompt mine ear;
And I will stoop and humble my intents
To your well-practised, wise directions.
And princes all, believe me, I beseech you;—
My father is gone wild into his grave,

¹ Act i, sc. 2. ² *Henry IV, Pt. II*, Act ii, sc. 2. ³ *id.*, Act iv, sc. 4.

For in his tomb lie my affections ;
 And with his spirit sadly I survive,
 To mock the expectation of the world ;
 To frustrate prophecies ; and to raze out
 Rotten opinion, who hath writ me down
 After my seeming. The tide of blood in me
 Hath proudly flow'd in vanity till now ;
 Now doth it turn, and ebb back to the sea ;
 Where it shall mingle with the state of floods,
 And flow henceforth in formal majesty.'

At the news of the new King's accession Falstaff and his company, like the rioters in the story of the Lambeth manuscript,¹ are full glad with hopes of promotion : ²

Fal. Away, Bardolph ; saddle my horse.—Master Robert Shallow, choose what office thou wilt in the land, 'tis thine.—Pistol, I will double-charge thee with dignities.

Bard. O joyful day !—
 I would not take a knighthood for my fortune.

In this spirit they go to meet the King. 'I will leer upon him, as he comes by' : says Falstaff. They find a rude awaking when the King rejects their approaches : ³

{ Presume not that I am the thing I was :
 For Heaven doth know, so shall the world perceive,
 That I have turn'd away my former self ;
 So will I those that kept me company,
 When thou dost hear I am as I have been,
Approach me ; and thou shalt be as thou wast,
The tutor and the feeder of my riots ;
Till then, I banish thee, on pain of death,—
As I have done the rest of my misteasers,—
Not to come near our person by ten mile.
 For competence of life I will allow you,
 That lack of means enforce you not to evil ;
 And, as we hear you do reform yourselves,
 We will, according to your strength and qualities
 Give you advancement.'

The bulk of this speech is founded on Ormonde's narrative, as preserved by Stow, but with the addition of 'ten mile' from Fabyan's account as given by Holinshed. The favour shown to the Chief Justice, whom the Prince loved not, has probably but an accidental resemblance to the honour bestowed on the four sad lords, whom Henry hated, in the story of the Lambeth manuscript. It is a natural product of the dramatist's art.

¹ See p. xxxi above. ² *Henry IV, Pt. II, Act v, sc. 3.* ³ *id.*, sc. 5.

Similarly, the hanging of Bardolph recalls how those who were consenting to the Prince's wildness fell after to great mischief and sorrow. However, if the Falstaff of the play is an invention of the poet, there was some foundation in legend, if not in fact, for saying that :

'Harry Monmouth, being in his right wits and his good judgments, turned away the fat knight with the great pelly-douplet.'¹

In *Henry V* the wild Prince is left behind, and though Tito Livio and his Translator may have helped to fix the idealized character of Henry as king, much of the historical fabric is derived from other material supplied by Holinshed. The theory that a fear of Church Reform moved the Archbishop of Canterbury to encourage war, and the debate in which the war was decided on,² have no place in our *Life*. The former can be traced back to *Caxton's Chronicles*, where it is represented that the clergy 'encouraged the King to challenge Normandy and his right in France to the end to set him a work there, that he should not seek occasion to enter into such matter'³ (i.e. as the appropriation of the ecclesiastical temporalities). The project of reform itself, by which the lands of the Church were to be turned to the support of

'Full fifteen earls, and fifteen hundred knights,
Six thousand and two hundred good esquires,'

goes back to the Lollard's Bill of 1410 as reproduced by Fabyan from a London chronicle.⁴ The speeches attributed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Westmoreland, and to Exeter are sixteenth-century inventions, which first appear in Hall's *Chronicle*, to be borrowed thence by Holinshed. It is to Holinshed also that Shakespeare is indebted for his version of the tennis-ball story.

Some minor details in Shakespeare's plays can be traced with confidence to Tito Livio's *Vita*, and these the Translator's *Life* may have helped to make familiar. Such are the Prince's words when wounded at Shrewsbury⁵:

'Heaven forbid a shallow scratch should drive
The Prince of Wales from such a field as this.'

¹ *Henry V*, Act iv, sc. 7.

² *id.*, Act i, sc. 2.

³ *Brut*, p. 495.

⁴ Fabyan, p. 575; *Chronicles of London*, pp. 65-8.

⁵ *Henry IV*, Pt. I, Act v, sc. 4; see p. 9 below.

The reference to the Scrope and Cambridge plot is derived from some fuller source; though the Translator had made additions to Tito Livio in his statements that the conspirators had been bought with French gold, and that Scrope had been the King's bedfellow.¹ For other matter the source can be found with certainty in Tito Livio or the Translator. As for instances, the theft of a pyx by Bardolph,² and the King's reply to the French herald,³

‘I do not seek him now;
But could be willing to march on to Calais
Without impeachment.’

Other instances are the description of the royal captain walking from watch to watch⁴; and Westmoreland's lament,

‘O that we now had here
But one ten thousand of those men in England
That do no work to-day!’

with Henry's brave reply.⁵

Tito Livio may also have furnished the tale of Henry's constancy on the field of battle⁶ :—

‘Upon his royal face there is no note
How dread an army hath enrouned him.’

But when the matter is found in more than one source it is not possible to be certain which was used. Thus the references of the Chorus before Act V to the pageant at London after Agincourt, and to the Emperor's coming, might be derived from Tito Livio,⁷ but also might come more directly from Tito Livio's own source, the English Chronicle.⁸ The note of

‘His bruised helmet and his bended sword’

must, however, be taken from the former writer.⁹ The provision which Henry had made in memory of Richard II, and of his father's ‘fault in compassing the crown’,¹⁰ appears below¹¹ in a passage added by the Translator, but its real source is *Caxton's Chronicle*.¹² So also the numbers of the slain, as

¹ *Henry V*, Act ii, sc. 2; p. 30 below.

² Act iii, sc. 6; p. 44 below.

³ Act iii, sc. 6; p. 48 below.

⁴ Act iv, Chorus; pp. 38, 87 below.

⁵ Act iv, sc. 3; p. 54 below.

⁶ Act iv, Chorus; see pp. 50, 54 below.

⁷ See pp. 65, 68 below.

⁸ *Brut*, pp. 380-1.

⁹ See p. 65 below.

¹⁰ Act iv, sc. 1.

¹¹ See p. 20.

¹² *Brut*, pp. 494-6.

given in the last scene of Act iv, appear below,¹ but these, as in Holinshed, are taken from Monstrelet.

It would be tempting to describe the History here given as 'Shakespeare's Life of Henry the Fifth'. But such a description, though true so far as literary derivation is concerned, would be misleading, since the dramatist knew and used it only through the medium of Stow and Holinshed. Still, the literary interest of the Translator's *Life* can hardly be exaggerated. It had been one object of the Translator to magnify the fame of Henry V as a model for Christian princes, and this he helped to achieve by emphasizing and popularizing the official eulogy of Tito Livio. It is a curious irony that by preserving Ormonde's stories he should have contributed still more to the creation of the contrary side of his hero's character as the wild Prince Hal.

The *First English Life of Henry V* is printed here as it stands in the Bodley MS., with some small textual corrections from the Harley MS. and from Stow. The copy in the Bodley MS. is to all appearance a faithful one; so it has seemed right to retain the old spelling, in spite of such want of fixity as is displayed in the indiscriminate use of 'there' and 'theire' for the possessive pronoun. But Manwood's scribe was somewhat irregular in his use of capital letters, and does not appear to have been governed by any rule; therefore in this respect I have not thought it necessary to follow him exactly. The division into paragraphs is that of the Bodley MS.; the arrangement of the Harley MS. is sometimes different. The marginal notes are those of the Bodley MS.; in the Harley MS. there are a few additional notes of a descriptive character. In my own footnotes I have distinguished the Bodley MS. as *B.* and the Harley MS. as *H.* I have added references to the best printed editions of the authorities cited by the Translator.

I first described this *Life* in an article on 'The Early Biographies of Henry V', which appeared in the *English Historical Review*.² I must here express my thanks to Mr. R. L. Poole, the editor, and to Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., the publishers, for the courtesy with which they have permitted me to make use of that article in this Introduction.

¹ See p. 62.

² Vol. xxv, pp. 58-92.

THE FIRST ENGLISH LIFE
OF
HENRY V
WRITTEN IN 1513 BY AN ANONYMOUS
AUTHOR KNOWN COMMONLY AS
THE TRANSLATOR OF LIVIUS



[PROHEM]

WHEN I throughlie had perused, perceauinge that it serued well to my purpose afore rehearsed,¹ I payned my self to reduce it into our naturall English tongue. And for because the matter should be more fruitefull, open and pleasant to the readers and hearers hereof, I haue anexed to the same diuers Authorities of Enguerant demonstrellet in such things as meseemed apt for my matter, who, among all other French histories and chronicles that I haue seene, indited most at large of the warres betweene England and Fraunce for those
10 dayes; w^{ch} two bookes, the one of Titus Liuius out of facound Titus
Latine, and th' other of the saide Enguerrant out of the com- Liuius.
mon Language of Fraunce I haue translated and reduced into rude and holme English, from whome all pratique and famous inditinge is farr exiled. And to these two aforesaide books I haue also added diuers sayings of the English Cronicles, and to the same matter also diuers other opinions that I have reade of the report of a certaine and honourable auncient person, to whome as me seemeth for the grautie and experience credit is to be giuen. And that is the honnorable Erle of Ormond.
20 I have contexed and adioyned to the authorities afore rehearsed in places for the same most apt and convenient, as by the booke followinge shall be evident to all them that shall please to reade the same, wherein they shall finde intiteler in the margent of the same of what authoritie everie sentence is taken. And for asmuch as I have not enterprised the compilation of this present volume vppon noe presumption of witt, sentence, or cunninge of my self, whereof I knowe me vtterlie destitute and voide, nor for no reproof of vice nor default of vertue in the person of our before remembred Soueraigne
30 Lorde, whome I see evidentlie to be excellentlie replenished

¹ *It is clear that something is missing, which had gone before.*

Henrie
the
Fifte.

of all naturall vertues, as much, as I beleeeue, as he of whome I intende to write, or more; but to this ende I haue bin moued to the enterprise hereof, that his Grace, hearinge or seeinge, or readinge the vertuous manners, the victorious conquests, and the excellent sages and wisdomes of the most renowned Prince in his daies, Kinge Henrie the Fifte, his noble progenitor (of whose superior in all noblenes, manhoode, and vertue, to my pretence, it is not read nor heard amongst the princes of England since William of Normandie obtayned the government of this realme by conquest) his Grace maie in all 10 thinges concerninge his person and the reigement of his people, conforme himselfe to his life and manners, w^{ch} he vsed after his coronacion, and be counselled by the example of his greate wisdom and discretion in all his common and perticuler Acts. And secondarily the principall cause of this my paine (for as much as we then laboured in warr) ¹ was that our Soueraigne Lorde by the knowledge and sight of this pamphile shoulde partlie be prouoked in his saide warr to ensue the noble and chivalrous acts of this so noble, so vertuous, and so excellent a Prince, w^{ch} so followed, he might the rather attaine to like 20 honnour, fame, and victorie. But, praised be God, it is now much better for vs, for that mortall warr, and hatefull discention is now chainged into an amiable, toworde, and peace honorable and also profitable (as wee beleeeue both to the Kings Highnes and to this Realme). Therefore considered that my first motion to this enterprise hath only sounded to the true and faithfull leigiance that I (as his naturall subiect) owe to beare to our Soueraigne Lorde, whome aboue all things I desire to be vertuous and victorious: instantlie and in the forme of humillitie I beseech his grace and all other, as well 30 men of honnour as of the Commonaltie, benignely to accept this rude and simple, not rude but excellent of itselfe, howbeit in the compilacion it is but homelie and not much pleasaunt: and where any default is, thorough my negligence and smale discretion, wth charitie (so it be wth authoritie) to reforme the same. And as to your Grace, my most dreade Soueraigne Lord, those vertues that by this pamphile ye shall perceau to be vsed in his time of that most puissant prince, Kinge Henrie

¹ See Introduction, p. x.

the fifte, your Auncestor, and namelie three w^{ch} I note especially wth colour most necessarie to euerie prince to insue; whereof the first is Justice, whereby he shall best entertayne Justice. the vnitie and wealth of his people: the seconde Continence, Contin- w^{ch} of all men is to be obserued, and namelie of them that be ence. professors to the Sacrament of Matrymonie, w^{ch} vertue, as I haue hearde of credible report, this noble prince, Kinge Henrie the Fifte, obserued so constantly that from the death of the Kinge his Father vntill the marriage of himself he neuer
 10 had knowledge carnally of weomen¹: And the Thirde excellent virtue that I note is Humilitie, and to eschewe vaine Hu- glorie, least a man ascribe laude to himselfe of that thinge w^{ch} militie. is geuen to him of God, whereby he might lightlie prouoke against himself th'indignacion of God, by meanes whereof his prosperitie and honnor may be chainged into aduersitie and dishonnor: he giue to your Grace to vse and ensue, and constantlie to occupie to the pleasure of him, to the health of your Soule, and to the honnour and prosperitie of your Royall person, Realme, and Commons, of whome ye haue receaued so
 20 manie and so greate supereminent vertues and graces. Amen.

¹ Harpsfield, *Historia Anglicana*, p. 589: In his et magno multarum aliarum virtutum concursu valde in eo accurata quedam iustitiae ad totius reipublicae singulare commodum, et pudicitiae quam tam exquisitè tenuit ut a patris obitu ante matrimonium initum ab omni se femina, et post matrimonium etiam preterquam uxoris, et consuetudine abstinuit, observatio enituit.

THE PROLOGUE OF TITUS LIUIUS DIRECTING HIS WORDS TO KINGE HENRIE THE SIXT

When I remember me to haue often hard in my youth
of report of my Father, and of others like vnto him,
Thy Father not meanelie but greatlie to excede all the
Kings that haue bin in our daies in his famous acts,
whose victorious gifts I haue deliuered to write after ¹⁰
the knowledge that I haue of them.

WHEN with the laboure and studie of many monethes and
yeares I began to profit in that science wherevnto I applied
my studie, hearing that nature had finished her course in thy
father, I was then more desirous to knowe who remayned in
thie house that were the most ensewers and followers of thy
fathers studies and labours. I hard thee, skarse of two yeares,
to be left Successor and heire of so greate a Kinge, and to be
committed to the gouernaunce and tuition of the most noble
and famous Prince, Humphrie, the Duke of Gloucester, thine ²⁰
vnckle, who was to thie father the youngest brother amongst
foure, and most was fauoured and beloued of him, and also
expert and indoctrined in his studies and disciplines.¹ He was
the Councillor, the helper and follower of all acts of thie father
the Kinge, and after his departure from this present life he
nourished thee tenderly and faithfullie, so that he might be
named the other Lycurg, brother to Polibites, Kinge of
Lacydemonie, in the faithfull and stedfast nourishinge of the
Kinge his nephewe. This Duke Humphrie exceeded all
princes that then liued in the studie of Letteres as well in ³⁰
diuine as in humane sciences, whose glorious fame, and the

¹ frater e quattuor natu minor, filius pietate et nomine a rege dictus,
suis disciplinis eruditus *Livius*.

desire I had to laboure, and to see so strainge Realmes, and also the default I had of money, mooued me to come into this realme vnto thie saide vnkle, w^{ch} founde me and gaue me sufficient wherewth to continewe in honest life, wth whome I haue wth good will occupied the effect and fruite of all my studies in writinge of those thinges, w^{ch} I beleueed to reason to the honnor of thee and thie Realme. And before I intended to returne into my natieue countrie, at the instance and supplicacions of my self, thie saide famous vnkel agregat in as much
 10 as might be gotten the Acts of thie father, and the same he sent to me to reduige into writinge. The charge whereof I enterprised wth greate studie and laboure, and good will and hartie pleasure, what for because this Godly Kinge, thy father, was occasion of my comminge into this thie country. And what for that in thie saide countrie (thoughe I were but as a stranger) at th'instance of this Duke, thie Vnckle, thou hast geuen me much guerdion, whereby I am well bounden to take paine in those things that maie concerne thine Honnor.¹ And therefore I ame also bounde to giue thee thanks for thie greate
 20 magnificence and liberalitie. I haue therefore written the life and shyninge Acts of this most victorious Kinge, thie father, to thee, the most Christian Kinge, his sonn, of whose manners and condicions the most parte of all Christian nations trust to be th'ensuer and follower. Not that I preferr and laude warr and discention, rather then tranquillitie and peace; but if thou maiest haue none honest peace, that then thou shalt seeke peace and rest wth victorie to both thie realmes by thy vertue and battaile, and by those feates by w^{ch} thie Father attained both his aduersaries and thine. And euer in all works intend
 30 thou to ensue the vertuous manners of that Godly Kinge, thie Father.²

TITUS LIVIUS.

¹ cum quod is diuinus rex multarum vigiliarum et lucubrationum animo michi causa in percipiendis literis fuerat, tum quod et indignatu Angliae regni ducis hujus patruī tui rogatu suasuque me donaveras *Livius*. *The Translator was puzzled by indignatu, which refers to Livius' denization in England in March 1437.*

² iis artibus, quibus suos et tuos hostes pater domuit, eisdem virtuteque belli cum victoria simili regnis tuis pacem et quietem quaerens, diuinum tibi regem cunctis in rebus imitandum proponas *Livius*. *B. has the erroneous reading attained for attained.*

THE Welshmen, in asperance by reason of their propheties that amongst them shoulde be borne a Prince that shoulde gouerne the vniuersall realme of Englande, whose prophetie was accomplished in this most victorious Prince, Kinge Henrie the Fifte, borne at Monmouth in Wales amongst them.¹ This Prince in the exile and time of his father, the Duke of Harford,² was norished in the Kings Courte right honorably in all things that was convenient for his estate by Kinge Richard the Seconde, that time Kinge of Englande. This Prince Henry in the vertuous passinge of his noble youth ¹⁰ obtayned the fauour and loue of the Kinge, of all the Princes, and also of all other men of euerie degree, of whome he had acquaintance. Of this Prince the Kinge right often in open audience of the Court vsed to saie these words: 'Of the 'greatest of my house shalbe borne a childe, whose name 'shalbe Henrie,³ w^{ch} for his knightlie acts and resplendishinge 'vertues shalbe renowned throughe out the worlde.' And of whome he thus prophetied he verelie trusted to be the same Henrie. After this, when the Irishmen rebelled against the Kinge, this young Henrie went in this journey wth the Kinge ²⁰ against them, both to learne and exercise the feates of armes. Whose father when he was retourned from his exile, after the death of Kinge Richard (as was his right) was preferred to the crowne of the Realme. And when he after went wth armed power to oppresse the Scotts, w^{ch} rebelled against him, he left the greate substance of his riches and goods in the garde and tuition of this younge Prince, his sonn,⁴ whose vertues weare

¹ Quod impletum est per Henricum quintum natum hic *Livius*.

² Hereford.

³ se fando semper a maioribus audivisse, de sua familia nasciturum Henricum quendam *Livius*.

⁴ hunc maximae parti suarum copiarum Henricum filium praefecit *Livius*.

maruelouslie excellent and greate. After this was a greate insurreccion in the North parts of England made against the Kinge; for the reformation whereof, and to subdue those conspiracies vnto his obeysance the Kinge in his person, and this¹ younge Henrie the Prince, wth a right greate power of armed men went against them to Shrewsburie, where they encountered and mett wth a right great armed power of those seditious people, against whome both the Kinge, the father, and the Prince had a right cruell and longe battaile; wherein
 10 the courage and strenght of the younge Prince Henrie appeared maruelouslie excellent; for in the same battaile, as he with a feruent mynde fought (peraduenture vnwarelie) amongst the rebbelles, he was wounded in the face wth an arrowe, so sore that they that were there present wth him were in dispaire of his life, wherefore they pained them to with drawe him from the battaile. But that noble Prince perceauinge theire intent gaue to them this aunswere: 'With what stomacke,' saide he, 'shall
 'our people fight, when they see me theire Prince and the
 'Kings sonn withdrawe my selfe, and recoil for feare. Bringe
 20 'me therefore wounded as I ame amongst the first and the
 'formost of our partie, that not only by words but also by
 'deeds I may enforce the courage of our men, as it becommeth
 'a Prince for to doe.' That when he was thus brought into the fronte of the battaile, he made vppon his enemies a greater assaulte than before. They fought longe on both parts wth greate occision of men and wth the effusion of much blood. But at last our lord Soueraigne had² the right, Sir Henrie Percy, the Earle of Northumberlandes sonn, was slayne, S^r Thomas Percie, his vnkle, Earle of Worcester, was taken prisoner, w^{ch}
 30 twoo lords were the principall Captaines of those rebellions; after whose death and discomphiture theire conflicts discouraged and in despaire of victorie left the felde and fledd. And so the victorie of the felde remained wth honnour to the Kinge and his Sonn. Manie Welshmen, and in a manner the greater parte of all Wales, were confederate wth these rebbells, and were present at the insurrection. And for because they percevered in theire obstinacie the Kinge deliuered the Prince, his Sonn, a greate armed bande, and sent him into Wales to

¹ his *B*.² had *om. B*.

subdue those falsh Welsh rebellions, who, at his comminge into Wales, destroyed theire lande wth sworde and fyre. And after longe and manie cruelties by them done for theire defence, the Prince slewe part of them by battaile, and part he took and punished them after there deserts. And part he droue into stronge holds and Castles, whome finallie at all times he subdued to his fathers dominion. How so be a greate part of them, seeinge their confederats thus vanquished, and themselves thus oppressed by the Prince, fledd for refuge into a greate and stronge Castle in Wales called Amberrstmuch,¹ 10 wherevnto the Prince layed his siege, and assaulted it by mynes and all manner of engins that were thought needfull for the distruccion of them and of there Castle; he made manie vigorous assaults and skirmishes for the oppression of them. And on his partie the Siege was not wthout the paine and disease of the Prince and his companie, in so much the more noyous vnto them that were lodged wthin the Castell, not in plaine fields but in roughe and thicke woods, for wth such manner woods and Castells it was environed.² And also it was that time winter, w^{ch} was cause to them of incredible colde 20 and paine. Neuertheles this most virtuous Prince, not wearied wth paine, after he had longe assieged this castell to the Kings greate cost and expences, and not wthout the effusion of much blood, obtayned the Castell, and subdued the residue of Wales vnder the Kings obeysance, except on person, whose name was Owann, w^{ch} was principall Chieftaine of the Welsh rebellions. This Owann, for feare and in dispaire to obtaine the Kinges pardon, fledd into desert places wthout companie; where in caues he continewed and finished his misserable life. Neuertheles his sonn afterward was taken into seruice wth the 30 Prince. And this sufficeth of the Welsh conspiracies and battailes, w^{ch} this victorious Prince right valliantlie vanquished, and reduced the people to the Kinge his fathers obeysaunce.³ In this time Iohn the Duke of Burgonie, w^{ch} was oppressed by battaile of the Duke of Orleance, by constraint came into

¹ Aberystwith; Aperhustumth *Livius*.

² This obscure sentence is an addition of the Translator.

³ For the latter half of this sentence *Livius*, p. 4, has quorum ad certam quoque singulorum notitiam non devenerunt.

England to demaund fauour¹ and aide of the Prince (who after he had obtayned lycence of his father the Kinge) sent into Fraunce the Earle of Arrundell, the Earle of Kyme, and the Lord Cobham, wth manie other Knights and Esquires in the aide of the Duke of Burgonie.²

Which at Cloe³ besides Paris encountered their enemies, vpon whome they had a gracious victorie, wherefore they were courteouslie rewarded of the Duke of Burgonie, and then returned into England. For these and manie other valiauntises, 10 noble feates, and victories, w^{ch} God of his infinit goodnes daily gaue vnto him, the Prince was honored and renowned not onlie in his Realme, but also in other Realmes and quarters. He was also taken of the Kinge his father as the first and principall of his Cuntrey Councell, and as nature appeareth he was right deere and welbeloued of the Kinge, vntill such time as his fame appeared by the sinister report of some euell disposed people⁴, w^{ch} laboured to make discension betweene the Kinge and the prince his sonn⁵; by reason whereof, and by th'actes of youth, w^{ch} he excersised more then meanely, and for the 20 greate recourse of people vnto him, of whom his court was at all times more abundant then the Kinge⁶ his father's, the Kinge suspected that he would vsurpe⁷ the Crowne he beinge aliue, which suspicious Jealousie was occasion that he in parte wthdrewe his affection and singuler loue from the Prince. But when this noble Prince was aduertised of his father's iealousie and mistrust by some his secret friends of the Kings Councell, he disguised himselfe in a gowne of blewe satten or damaske made full of ilets or holes, and at euerie ilet the needle wherewth it was made hanginge there by the thridde 30 of silke, and about his arme he wore a doggs Collor sett full

¹ coactus in Angliam sit auxilium petere *Livius*.

² The names are added by the Translator, from the Brut, p. 371; *Livius* has simply de suis nonnullos.

³ St. Cloud.

⁴ Stow, *Annales*, p. 339, ed. 1631: To the same effect (but in more ample manner) writeth the translator of Titus Liuius (who wrote an history of Henry the fift, and dedicated it to Henry the sixt) as he was informed by the Earle of Ormond, an eye witness of the same, as followeth: During the sicknesse of the king (saith he) some euill disposed people.

⁵ The Translator now leaves *Livius*.

⁶ the kinge *om. Stow*.

⁷ would presume to vsurpe *Stow*.

of S. S.¹ of goulde and the teretts of the same also of fine golde. And thus apparelled ² with greate Companie of Lords³ he came to the Kinge his father, who at that time lay at Westminster; where at his comminge by his owne commaundement⁴ not one of his companie durst aduance⁵ himselfe further then the fire in the hall, notwithstanding they were greatlie and ofte desired to the contrarie by the Lords and greate estats of the Kings Courte. And that the Prince had commaunded⁶ to giue the lesse occasion of mistrust to the Kinge his father; but he himselfe accompanied of the Kings house¹⁰ only passed forth to the Kinge his father, to whome after due salutations he desired to show the intent of his minde in secrett manner. Then the Kinge caused himselfe to be borne in his chaire, (because he was diseased and might not goe) into his secrett chamber; where in the presence of three or foure persons in whome the Kinge had his most confidence he commaunded the Prince to shewe the effect of his minde. Then the Prince kneelinge downe before his father saide to him these words: 'Most redoubted Lorde and father I ame this
' time come to your presence as your Liegeman, and as your²⁰
' sonn naturall, in all things to obey your Grace as my
' Soueraigne Lorde and father. And whereas I vnderstande
' that you haue me in suspecte of my behauour against your
' Grace, and that you feare I would vsurpe your Crowne against
' the pleasure of your highnes. Of my conuersacion your
' Grace knoweth that if you weare in feare of any man wthin
' your Realme of what estate soeuer he were, my duty were to
' the endainger of my life to punish that person, thereby to
' arise⁷ that sore from your harte. And then howe much
' rather ought I to suffer death to bringe y^{or} grace, that hath³⁰
' bene and yet be the most hardie and renowned Kinge of the
' worlde,⁸ from that feare that ye haue of me, that ame your
' naturall sonn and liegeman. And to that intent I haue

¹ Blank in B.; S. S. esses, H.; supplied from Stow.

² Thus strangely apparelled Stow.

³ Lords and other noble men of his Court Stow.

⁴ by commaundement of him Stow.

⁵ Companie aduanced Stow.

⁶ And this they did not onely because the weather was colde, but because the Prince had so commaunded them Stow.

⁷ arise, B.; race Stow.

⁸ that hath . . . worlde om. Stow.

'this day by confession¹ and by receauinge my maker² pre-
 'pared myselfe. And therefore most redoubted Lorde and
 'father I desyre³ you in your honnor of God, for the easinge
 'of your harte heere tofore your knees to slaye me wth this
 'dagger': (and at that worde wth all reuerence he deliuered
 to the Kinge his dagger, sayinge) 'my Lord and father, my
 'life is not so desirous to me that I woulde liue one daye that
 'I shoulde be to your displeasure, nor I couet not so much my
 'life, as I doe your pleasure and wellfare. And in your
 10 'thus doinge here in the presence of those lords, and before
 'God, and⁴ the daye of Judgement, I cleerelie forgiue you
 'my death.' At these words of the Prince, and⁵ the Kinge
 taken wth compassion of harte caste from him the dagger,
 and imbraced the Prince, and kissed him, and wth effusion of
 teares saide vnto him: 'My right deere and hartelie beloued
 'Sonn, it is of troth that I partlie had you in suspect,⁶ and as
 'I now perceauie vnderued on your part, but seeinge this
 'your humilitie and faithfullness, I shall neither slay you nor
 'frome hencefoorth anie more haue you in mistrust, for no
 20 'reporte that shalbe made vnto me. And therefore⁷ I assure
 'you vppon myne honnour.' And thus by his greate wisdome
 was the wrongfull imaginacion of his fathers hart⁸ utterlie
 avoyded, and himselfe restored to the Kings former grace and
 fauour. I remember also to haue heard of the credible report
 of my saide Lorde and M^r the Earle of Ormond, that this
 Prince had of his father the Kinge⁹ diuers notable doctrins
 and insignements, that not onlie of him but of euerie Prince are
 to be holden and followed for the prosperitie of himselfe, and
 of his realme and country; w^{ch} though they be knowne to
 30 euerie Prince that hath gouernance of lands, yet I trust the
 hearinge and readinge of part of them shall not be tedious to
 anie person that hath such manner charge, but rather proffit-
 able, and renewe the remembrance of them,¹⁰ Among w^{ch}
 erudicions one is this: The Kinge, lyinge greuously diseased,

¹ confession of my sinnes, *Stow.*

² the Sacrament, *Stow.*

³ beseech *Stow.*

⁴ at *Stow.*

⁵ and *om. Stow.*

⁶ I had you partly suspect *Stow.*

⁷ thereof *Stow.*

⁸ hate *Stow.*

⁹ In the time of whose languishing the king gave to the Prince his
Sonne Stow, omitting the reference to Ormond.

¹⁰ for the prosperitie . . . of them *om. Stow.*

called before him the Prince his sonn, and saide vnto him :
 ‘ My Sonn, I feare me sore after my departure from this life,
 ‘ some discorde shall sourd¹ and arise betwixt thee and
 ‘ Thomas, thie Brother,² the Duke of Clarence, whereby the
 ‘ realme may be brought to distruction and misserie, for I
 ‘ knowe you both to be of so greate stomake and courage ;
 ‘ wherefore I feare that he thoroughe his high mynde will
 ‘ make some enterprise against thee intendinge to vsurpe
 ‘ vppon the, wth I knowe thie stomake may not abide easelye.
 ‘ And for dread hereof, as oft as it is in my remembraunce, I¹⁰
 ‘ sore repent me that euer I charged myselfe wth the Crowne
 ‘ of this Realme.’ To these words of the Kinge the Prince
 aunswered thus: ‘ Right redoubted³ Lord and father, to the
 ‘ pleasure of God your Grace shall longe continewe wth vs and
 ‘ rule vs both. But if God haue so prouided that euer I shall
 ‘ succeed you in this realme, I shall honnor and loue my
 ‘ Brothers aboue all men, as longe as they be to me true,
 ‘ faithfull and obedient as to their Soueraigne Lorde. But if
 ‘ anie of them fortune to conspire or rebell against me, I assure
 ‘ you I shall as soone execute Justice vppon anie one of them²⁰
 ‘ as I shall vppon the worst and most simplest person wthin
 this your Realme.’ The Kinge hearinge this aunswere, was
 therewth maruelouslie reioyced in his mynde.⁴ ‘ My deare and
 ‘ welbeloued Sonn, wth this aunswere thou hast deliuered me
 ‘ of a greate and ponderous agony. And I beseech thee, and
 ‘ vppon my blessinge charge thee, that like as thou hast saide,
 ‘ so thou minister Justice equallie, and in no wise suffer them
 ‘ not to be oppressed longe, that call⁵ vppon thee for Justice,
 ‘ but redresse oppressions and indifferently and without delay,
 ‘ for no persuasions of flatteries,⁶ or of them that be partiall,³⁰
 ‘ or such as vse to haue their hands replenished wth giftes;
 ‘ defer not Justice vntill to morrowe, if that thou maiest doe
 ‘ Justice to daie, least peraduenture God doe Justice on thee
 ‘ in the meane time, and take from thee thine authoritie. Re-
 ‘ member⁷ the wealth of thie bodie and soule, and thy realme
 ‘ resteth in th’execucion of Justice, and doe not thie Justice so

¹ grow *Stow.*² my brother Thomas *Stow.*³ undoubted *Stow.*⁴ minde, and sayd *Stow.*⁵ suffer not them that bee oppressed long to call *Stow.*⁶ flatterers *Stow.*⁷ Remember that *Stow.*

' that thou be called a Tyrant, but vse thie selfe meanelie be-
 ' twixt Justice and mercie in those thinges that belonge vnto
 ' thee. And betwixt parties doe Justice dewlie ¹ and extreame-
 ' lie, to the consolacion of thie poore subiects that suffereth
 ' iniurie, and to the punition of them that be extortioners and
 ' doers of oppression, that others thereby maie take example.
 ' And in thus doeinge thou shalte obtaine the fauour of God,
 ' and the loue and feare of thie Subiects, and therefore also
 ' shalt thou haue this realme ² in tranquillitie and rest, w^{ch}
 10 ' shalbe occasion of greate prosperitie wthin this Realme, w^{ch}
 ' Englishmen naturallie desire; for so longe as they haue
 ' welth and riches, so longe shalt thou haue obeysance, and
 ' when they be poore then they be readie ³ at everie motion
 ' to make insurrections, and to rebell ⁴ against their Soueraigne
 ' Lorde, for the nature of them is ⁵ rather to feare the loosinge
 ' of their goods and worldly substaunce, then the jeopardinge
 ' of their liues. And if thou keepe them thus in subiection
 ' mixed wth loue and feare, thou shalt haue the most peaceable
 ' and fertile countrie, and the most louinge, faithfull, and manly
 20 ' people of the worlde, w^{ch} shalbe cause of no smale feare of
 ' thine aduersaries. My Sonn, when it shall please God to
 ' call me to the way decreed to everie worldlie creature, to thee
 ' (as to my Sonn and heire) I must leaue my Crowne and my
 ' Realme, w^{ch} I aduise thee not to take vainely, and as a man
 ' elate in pride, and reioyced in worldlie honnour. But thinke
 ' that thou art more oppressed wth charge to purvey for euerie
 ' person wthin thie realme, than exalted in vaine honnor of the
 ' worlde. Thou shalt be exalted to the Crowne of ⁶ the wealth
 ' and conuersacion of thie realme, and not for thie singuler
 30 ' commoditie and auaile. My Sonn, thou shalt be minister to
 ' thie realme to keepe it in tranquillitie, and defende it; like as
 ' the harte in the middest of the bodie is principall and chiefe
 ' thinge in the bodie, and serueth to couet and desire that
 ' thinge that is most necessary to euerie of thie members, so
 ' (My Sonn) thou shalt be amongst thie people, as chiefe and
 ' principall of them to minister, imagine and acquire those
 ' things that may be most beneficiall for them; and then thie

¹ truly *Stow.* ² thy Realme move *Stow.* ³ alwayes readie *Stow.*

⁴ and it causeth them to rebell *Stow.* ⁵ is such *Stow.* ⁶ for *Stow.*

'people shalbe obedient to thee, to aide and succour thee,
 'and in all things to accomplish thie commaundements; like
 'as thie members labour everie of them in theire office to
 'acquire and gett that thinge that the hart desireth, and as
 'thie hart is of no force and impotent wthout the aide of thie
 'members, so wthout thie people thie Raigne is nothinge. My
 'Sonn, thou shalt feare and dreade God aboue all things, and
 'thou shalt loue, honnor and worshipp him wth all thie hart.
 'Thou shalt attribute and ascribe to him all things wherein
 'thou seest thie selfe to be well fortunat, be it victorie of ¹⁰
 'thine enemies, loue of thie friends, obedience of thie subiects,
 'strenght and actiuenes of thie bodie, honnor, riches, or fruitfull
 'generacions, or any other thinge what soeuer it be that chaunc-
 'eth to thie pleasure. Thou shalt not imagine that any such
 'thinge may ¹ fortune to thee by thine act, nor by thie desire,²
 'but thou shalt thinke that it ³ cometh onely of the goodnes of
 'our ⁴ Lord. Thus thou shalt wth all thine harte praise, honnor,
 'and thanke God of all his benifitts that he giueth vnto thee.
 'And in thie selfe to eschewe all vaine glorie and elation of
 'hart, followinge the wholesome counsell of the psalmist, w^{ch} ²⁰
 'saith *Non nobis, domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*,
 'w^{ch} is this to saie: Not to vs Lord, not to vs, but to thie
 'holie name be giuen laud, joy, and praysinge.'⁵ These and
 manie other goodlie notable demonstraunces, admonishments,⁶
 and doctrins, this victorius Kinge shewed vnto this noble
 Prince and ⁷ sonn, who wth effect ensewed and ⁸ followed them
 after the death of his Father, whereby he obtayned grace of
 our Lorde to obtaine⁹ to greate victories, and to manie glorious
 and incredible conquests through the helpe and succoure of
 our Lord, whereof he was never destitute. And this sufficeth ³⁰
 as to that purpose.¹⁰

Titus
Liuius.

Then to turne to our former purpose and matter. This
 Prince Henrie exceded the meane stature of men; he was
 beawtious of visage, his necke was longe, his body slender and
 leane, his boanes smale. Neuerthelesse he was of maruelous

¹ should *Stow*. ² desert *Stow*. ³ all *Stow*. ⁴ the *Stow*.

⁵ laud and praise *Stow*. ⁶ many other admonishments *Stow*.

⁷ his *Stow*. ⁸ ensewed and *om. Stow*. ⁹ attaine *Stow*.

¹⁰ And . . . purpose *om. Stow*.

greate strenght : he was passinge swift in runninge, in so much that he with two other of his Lords by force of runninge, without any manner of hounds or grayhounds, or without bowe or other engine, woulde take a wilde bucke or doe at large in a parke.¹ He delighted in songe and musicall Instruments, he exercised meanelie the feates of Venus and of Mars, and other pastimes of youth, for so longe as the Kinge his father liued ; by whose life (as I haue learned of the credence before rehearsed, and also as the common fame is)² accompanied with some of his younge Lords and gentlemen would awaite in disguised aray for his owne receauers, and distres them of theirre money. And some time at such enterprises both he and his Companie weare surelie beaten ; and when his receauers made to him theirre complaints, howe they were distressed and robbed in theirre comminge vnto him, he woulde giue them discharges of so much money as they had lost, and besides that they shoulde not depart from him without greate rewards for theirre trouble and vexacions. And he that best and most manly had resisted him and his companie in their enterprise, and of whome he had receaued the greatest and most stroakes, shoulde be sure to receaue of him the greatest and most bounteous rewards.³

His father drawinge to his ende (and in whome nature had accomplished her course) after the masse by him devoutlie harde, and after due thanks and supplicacion geuen to God, gaue his benediccion to the Prince his Sonn, and so he yealded to God his spirite. After whose death the Prince, as he that shoulde succeed his father in his raigne, called to him a vertuous Monke of holie conuersacion, to whome he confessed himselfe of all his offences, trespasses and insolencies of times past. And in all things at that time he reformed and amended his life and his manners. So after the decease of his father was neuer no youth nor wildnes, that might haue anie place in him, but all his acts were sodenlie changed into grauitie and discretion.⁴

¹ *Livius*, p. 4 ; adopted by *Stow*, *Annales*, p. 342.

² *Stow begins* : He liued somewhat insolently, insomuch that whilst his father liued, being. So he omits the reference to *Ormonde*.

³ especially they should bee rewarded that best had resisted him and his company, and of whom he had receiued the greatest and most strokes. *Stow*.

⁴ *Livius*, p. 5 ; adopted by *Stow*.

Trans-
lator.

And in that he had grace of our Lord to accomplish in him that thinge that is written of Th'arch Bisshopp of Canterbury of whome it is saide *Subito mutatus est in virum alium*, w^{ch} is to saye he was sodenlie changed into a newe man.

Titus
Luius.

To this noble Prince (by th'assent of the Parliament) all the estats, and gentlemen of the Realme after three daies offered to do¹ fealtie before he was crowned, or had solemnized his oath well and justlie to gouerne the Common wealth, which offer² before was neuer founde to bee made to no Prince of England before his Coronacion. The Prince gaue them all ¹⁰ generallie thanks for all there good minds, and therewth he exhorted them to the zeale of the publicke prosperitie, and honnour of the Realme. And if anie man had offended him, he pardoned his trespasses; he desired hartely of God by meeke supplicacion that if he shoulde rule and doe all things well to the honnor of God, and the prosperitie and inhaunsment ³ of the Realme, that then God shoulde suffer him to be crowned; and if his fortune shoulde be to doe otherwise, that then God shoulde take him to his mercie, and suffer him rather to be buried, then to enterprise the charge of the Realme.⁴ 20

Trans-
lator.

Oh howe great was the constant loue of the publique weale in this Prince that desired rather to dye then to be vnprofitable to the realme. Certainly this is a speciall note to be remembred of all Princes, and especialliè of them that court more their singuler pleasure, honnor, and proffitt then the vniuersall aduantage and wealth of his people and countries, whose blinde affection th'exemple of this noble Prince vtterly condemneth.

1413.
Titus
Luius.

The yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred and thirteene, and of the age of this prince the xxvjth yeare, the ³⁰ nineth daie of Aprill, was this noble Prince Kinge Henrie the ffift crowned and anoynted Kinge wth all solemnitie and pompe, vsed in the Realme of England. And that done, ymediatlie after Easter and after that he had catholiquely receaued the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and that fealtie of all the estats of his Realme was geuen vnto him in time convenient,

¹ the *B.*; do *Stow*.

² after *B.*; offer *Stow*.

³ the prosperous commodity *Stow*.

⁴ *Livius*, p. 5. *It is a rather free translation, but is adopted by Stow.*

amongst the first acte¹ of his Coronacion called vnto him all those younge Lordes and gentlemen that were the followers of his younge acts, and had tofore bin most familer wth him,² to euerie of whome seuerally he gaue right rich and bounteous giftes, whereby they were all right greatly inhaunced in substaunce.³ And then he commaunded them that they that woulde change their life and conuersacion in like manner as he intended to doe shoulde abide wth him and continewe⁴ in his Court. And to all them that woulde perseuer in their
 10 former light conuersacion he gaue expresse commaundement vppon paine of their heads neuer after that daye to come to his presence.⁵ And in that he leaueth an excellent example Trans-
 to all Princes, as well to them that be present as to them that lator.
 be comminge, to eschewe and avoide all companie that is suspect of vice; for it is not possible any man that conuerseth and accompanieth himselfe wth royotous and vitious companie, and namely familiarly, to keepe him from beinge partner of their offences. And many times the fauour of such younge men of light conuersacion, and of more light conscience, is an
 20 impediment to the Prince indifferently to minister Justice; but to the contrarie their vntrue suggestions prouoketh the Prince often to subuert his Justice; and that hath bin of times past (and if it be yet God knoweth) the vtter impouerishinge and vndooeing not of a fewe men wthin this Realme, w^{ch} haue not bin able to make semblable intercessors and aduocates to their Prince, for the obteyninge of Justice in their causes. And when this noble Prince had thus avoyded those younge Titus
 and suspitious companie from his presence, he then intended Liuius.
 to edifie his royal mannor that then was called Shene and
 30 nowe Richmond, w^{ch} as yet is knowne to manie men that haue seene the same.⁶ He also founded two monasteries vppon the Thames not farr from his said mannor royall. The

¹ *So far from Livius, p. 5.*

² and had . . . wth him *om. Stow*

³ whereby . . . substaunce *om. Stow.*

⁴ and continewe *om. Stow.*

⁵ *Here Stow ends.*

⁶ *For this Livius, p. 5, has simply inter opera prima aedes regias aedificari mandavit, quae vulgo dicuntur manerium de Shene. Stow, Annales, 343, reproduces the above down to Richmond. Sheen was burnt at Christmas, 1497, and rebuilt as Richmond by Henry VII.*

Poli-
cronicon. one of the Religion of the Cartusiers,¹ and that he named Bethlem, wherein he founded also a priest anker, and another priest to attend vppon them perpetuallie to singe therefore the Ghostlie consolacion of his soule.²

Titus
Liuius. And the other Monasterie he founded of religious men and of religious women of Saint Bridgetts religion, and that house he named Sion; and to both those houses he purchased, and also he endowed them right richlie wth great reuenews and rentes.³

Trans-
lator. And besides that, I haue hearde of the tofore credible¹⁰ reportes, this noble Kinge brought from beyonnd the seas diuers bretheren of the order called Celestines, to whome he intended to haue builded a religious house at Thestleworth⁴ besides Syon: but the same brethren (because either theire perfeccion or theire compleccion woulde not agree wth the manner of the countrie, or else wth the ayre) departed this Realme, and returned to there former habitacion, and soyle; by whose departure the intent of this victorious Kinge was vtterly empessed and voyded in that cause.

Titus
Liuius. Brieflie after his Coronacion in the first yeare of his Raigne²⁰ this wise Kinge, wth the best aduisement that he coulede, ordeined and provided in euerie part of his Realme Judges and other officers such as he beleueed to be true and iust.⁵ And others that were knowen and suspect of couetous or partiallitie he cleerely avoyded from theire offices and roomes. And also in the said first yeare of his raigne he caused the corps of Kinge Richarde the second to be taken from the earth, whome Kinge Henrie the fourth had intumulate⁶ in the Friers of Langley, and wth due obseruance to be from thence transported into the Abby of Westminster; where³⁰ after solemne obseques for him done, was buried in Saint Peters Church in the saide Abbey on the south side of Saint Edwards shrine, by Queene Ann his wife, as he himselfe by his life had desired. Aboute whose Sepulture he founded iiij^{or} Tapers to bren perpetually.⁷

¹ Thus far Stow.

² Policronicon, p. 224; Brut, p. 496.

³ Livius, p. 5.

⁴ Isleworth.

⁵ Livius, pp. 5, 6.

⁶ Sic in MSS.: read intumulate.

⁷ Most of this, like the following paragraph, comes from Policronicon, pp. 224, 231-34. It was adopted by Stow. See also Brut, pp. 495, 496.

Also he founded perpetuallie one day in the weeke a dirige ^{Poli-}
^{wth} Nyne Lessons, and one the morne a solemne masse, both ^{cronicon.}
 by note to be done weekly for the soule of the saide Kinge
 Richard. And vppon the same daye he hath ordayned to be
 dooled for ever vj.s. viij.d. And once in the yeare vppon the
 Sundaie of the saide Kinge Richards anniuersarie perpetuallie
 to be geuen to poore people xx.li. in pence. Hee also founded
 for the health of his soule, on the chappell ouer his Sepulter
 in the saide Abbey of Westminster three Masses to be songen
 10 daily by the monks of the same Monasterie, for as longe as
 the worlde shall endure; w^{ch} masses he ordayned to be songe
 accordinge to the Tenure of these Verses followinge:—

Henrici misse quinti sunt hic tabulate
 que successiue sunt per monachos celebrate.

Sunday, die Dominica.

The first. Prima sit assumpte de festo Virginis alme} of
 Th'assumption.

The last. Poscit ¹ postremam Christus de morte resurgens}
 of the resurrection.

20 Feria Secunda, Mondaie.

The first. Prima salutate de festo Virginis extat} of the
 salutation.

The last. Nunciat Angelicis laudem postrema choreis} of
 Angells.

Feria Tertia.

The first. Esse Deum natum de Virgine prima fatetur} of
 the Natiuitie of our Lord.

The last. Commemorat natam ² sic vltima missa Mariam}
 of the Natiuitie of our Ladie.

30 Feria Quarta.

The first. Prima celebratur ad honorem neupmatis almi}
 of the Trinitie.

The last. Vltima conceptam denunciatur esse Mariam} of the
 conception of our Ladie.

¹ poscint *B.*; posset, *H.*; poscit *Brut.*

² natum *MSS.*

Feria Quinta.

The first. Semper prima coli debet de corpore Christi} of
the bodie of our Lorde.

The last. Vltima sit facta de Virgine purificata} of the
purification.

Feria Sexta.

The first. Concedat¹ vt prima celebratur de cruce sancta}
of the Crosse.

The last. Atque salutate fiat postrema Mariae} of the
Salutacion.

10

Sabata.

The first. Omnes ad sanctos² est prima colenda supernos}
of all Saints.

The last. Vltima de requie pro defunctis petit esse} of
requiem.

Semper erit media de proprietate diei.

And alwaies the second of the meane Masse shalbe
of the proprietie of the daye.

He ordayned also for his owne soule certaine
lights perpetually at masse and at euensonge
at his owne Sepulter. And yearelie to be
distributed vppon the day of his anny-
uersarie twenty pounds in pence to the
poore people duringe the Worlde.

20

Titus
Liuius.

³ In the first yeare of this most excellent Kings raigne, and
after that he had raigned, ordayned and established manie
profitable things in his realme for the common wealth and
prosperitie of his subiects, fortun'd a maruelous insurrection
of heretiks; of w^{ch} superstitious sect two knights were
principall chieftaines, of whome the one was S^r John Oldcastell,³⁰
Lord Cobham, who before the Kings coronacion was forsaken
of the Kinge for the same opinions, and vtterlie abiect from
his seruice and presence. And th'other knight was named
S^r Roger Acton.⁴ After these two knights as chieftaines

¹ condecet *Brut.*

³ *Liuius*, pp. 6, 7.

² omnes alii sanctos *Brut.*

⁴ Johannes Acton, *Liuius* incorrectly.

followed a greate multitude of people, also erringe from the waie of trueth, wth theire armed power intendinge to oppresse the church, the spirituallitie, the¹ Kinge and the realme. When the newes thereof was first brought to the Kinge at his Mannor of Eltham in the solemnitie of the Epiphanie, and that he was informed that they were assembled in a fiede neare London, and that not farr from Westminster, called Ficket fiede, immediatlie, wthout giuinge knowledge of his purpose to anie man, the good Kinge hastened him to his mannor of
 10 Westminster, where in all hast possible he assembled his people, wth whome he sent his Brother, the Duke of Clarence, against those scelerate and misbeleuinge rebellions,² whome almost without resistance he vanquished, and tooke part of them, and put the remnant to flight. And those that were taken the Kinge caused to be put to execucion after theire deserts. Amongest whome the aforesaide Lord Cobham was taken and dampned by the Church, was put into the Tower, from whence he escaped by breakinge of the prison, and fledd into Wales; where after he was taken and by the Lord
 20 Powes, and brought againe to London, and put to condigne execucion for his false opinions. And the said S^r Roger Acton was also taken there, and after condemned by the Church and put to execucion.³

Thus the first victorie of that noble Kinge after his Corona-
 tion was against these cursed superstitious heretiques for
 Christ and the defence of the Church of God, in the defence
 and supportacion of our Catholique faith.⁴

⁵ In the second yeare of the raigne of this most noble and
 vertuous Kinge, after that all discencions and commotions
 Titus Livius.
 1414.

¹ of the *MSS.*; contra sacerdotes, ecclesiam, regem et omne regnum *Livius*.

² wth whome . . . rebellions *om. Livius*; supplied by the Translator.

³ The last two sentences are an addition by the Translator. Oldcastle was not captured in Jan. 1414; his condemnation and escape took place in Sept.-Oct., 1413. The erroneous chronology comes from the *Brut*.

⁴ This paragraph, though marked Translator, is an expansion of a sentence in *Livius*, p. 7.

⁵ *Livius*, p. 6, under the first year, before the account of the Lollard rising. *Livius* is correct as the first embassy of the archbishop of Bourges was in Jan. 1414; but *Livius* seems to confuse it with the later embassy of June, 1415. *Stow*, p. 345, however, follows the Translator, but gives *Livius*, and Roger Wall (the Pseudo Elmham) as his authority.

⁶ commons *MSS.*; commotions *Stow*.

in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales [were appeased],¹ and that concord and vnitie were made and established in all parts of the Kings dominions, the Kinge delibered ² vppon the recouerie of the Realme of Fraunce, w^{ch} by iust title of inheritance was discended vnto him, and at that time was iniuriouslie wthhoulden from him by the French Kinge. And because he woulde nothinge proceede against the pleasure of God, he first demaunded aduice and counsell of all the discrete and learned men, as well of the spiritualitie in both vniuersities, as of temporallitie through all the Realme, if he might wthout anie ¹⁰ offence against God lawfullie recouer by armes his realme of Fraunce; who, after long deliberacion therevppon amongst them had, of one assent made report, that in so iust and right-wise a quarrell he might lawfullie vse armes, if he might by none other waies attaine his purpose and right inheritance.³

Then the Kinge in all things insuing ⁴ the aduice of his Councell, sent a legation or Ambassage into Fraunce, there to demaund his right in the Councell of the Frenchmen. And if peraduenture they woulde denie to accomplish his desire his Ambassadors shoulde giue them knowledge, that he woulde ²⁰ seeke his right by armes. These Ambassadors were benignely ⁵ receaued in Fraunce. And for aunswere of there message there ⁶ denounced, they brought wth them nothinge to make report of, except that wthin short time the Frenchmen woulde send there Ambassadors into England to declare there intent to the Kinge vppon his demaund.

Enguer-
unt.

Briefely after the returne of the Kings messengers out of Fraunce ariued into England M^r William Boare, Archbisshopp of Burges, the Earle of Vandesme, M^r Piers Frenell, Bisshopp of Lyceuox, the lord Yuery and of Braquemont, M^r Water ³⁰ Colle, Secretarie to the Frenche Kinge, legates or Ambassadors of Fraunce.⁷

Titus
Liuius.

These Ambassadors were men of greate authoritie, amongst

¹ *om. MSS. ; restored from Stow.*

² *deliberated Stow.*

³ *An expanded version of Livius, p. 6.*

⁴ *insued B. ; insuing Stow.*

⁵ *benigne Livius ; honourably Stow.*

⁶ *they MSS. ; there Stow.*

⁷ *Monstrelet, iii. 72 ; le comte de Vendôme, maitre Guillaume Bouratier archeueque de Bourges, l'eueque de Lisieux, nomme maitre Pierre Franel, les seigneurs d'Ivry et de Braquemont, maitre Gautier Col, secretaire du roi. Stow has Bouratier (as in H.), but otherwise follows the Translator.*

whome the Archbischopp of Burges was the principall and the chiefe,¹ who in like manner as the Englishe Legats in Fraunce were also receaued beningly and in greate honnor heere in England.

² Notwthstandinge that, at theire comminge they presented the Kinge from the Kinge there M^r wth a Tonn of Tennis Balls, as in dirision wth credence to say by mouth that the Kings youth was more apte to passe the time in such deinties and games, then to enterprise the invasion of such and so mightie
 10 a realme as is Fraunce.

³ After a certaine time of repose,⁴ at a place and time lymitted for the same, the saide Ambassadors of Fraunce by the mouth of the saide Bisshopp of Bourges right elegantly proposed there message; and in the end of there proposicion, they offered to the Kinge certaine lands and a greate summe of money. And also the daughter of the Kinge there M^r to be geuen vnto him in marriage, so that he woulde desist from that warr that he then intended to make in Fraunce. After this proposicion thus made, these Ambassadors were right
 20 honnorable receaued of the Kinge to dynner. And at another day, for the same lymited, the Kinge, by the mouth of the Archbisshopp of Canterbury made to them aunswere accordinge to theire message. The effect whereof was that because theire proffers were not sufficient recompence for the Kings rightfull inheritaunce in Fraunce, w^{ch} then was vniustlie detayned from him, the Kinge in noe manner woulde condescend to there requests, but gaue them for a fynall aunswere, that he woulde demaunde his right by armes in the best manner he coulede, and that as briefly to him as possible.
 30 Then the Archbisshopp of Bourges, after lycence graunted, saide: 'Oh thou Kinge, wth honnor and reuerence, what 'thinkest thou desiringe thus iniustlie to depose the most 'Christian Kinge of Fraunce, our right deere and right 'doubted Lorde and Soueraigne, the most noble and most

¹ legationis princeps . . . episcopus *Livius* p. 6; *Hearne supplies the gap by quoting the text above in a note.*

² *Policronicon*, p. 225; this was in Feb. 1414.

³ *Monstrelet*, iii. 73-5. This relates to the second embassy of the Archbishop of Bourges in June, 1415. *Stow adopts the paragraph with some abbreviation.* ⁴ reproofe B.

'excellent of all Christian Princes, from the chaire and throne
 'of so greate and puissant a realme? Oh thou Kinge, wth
 'honor and reuerence, thinkest thou that he hath offered, or
 'caused to be offered, to thee his lands and money wth his
 'owne daughter to be thie wife for anie dreade or feare that
 'he hath of thee, of thie subiects and confederats. Nay! but
 'the same our Soueraigne Lord mooued wth pittie, as the
 'louer of peace, hath made thee this offer to th'intent that
 'innocent blood be not spilte and distroyed, and that Christian
 'people by this troublesome warr be not slaine and murdered. 10
 'And by the aide of God that is all puissant, of the blessaunt¹
 'virgin Marie, and of all the Saints in heauen, he shall at all
 'times defende himselfe, his lands, and subiects from thine
 'vniust invasions. And as to vs that be his Ambassadors,
 'we desire thee to make to vs sure conducte without damage
 'through thie realme, and thoroughe thie lands and thie
 'dominions. And that thou also write to our Soueraigne
 'Lord this thine aunswere entirely vnder thie Seale and thie
 'Signe Manuell.' W^{ch} request, notwithstandinge their vn-
 goodly and inordinate manner and wordes,² the Kinge right 20
 benignely graunted vnto them.

Titus
 Liuius.

³ In the open Councell tofore the Kinge and all his Lords
 and estats, these Ambassadors, when they perceaued there
 offers to be refused by the Kinge, stroue and contended in
 words against the Kinge and his Councell. And after that
 they fell into laughinge in manner of dirision, as if they had
 bin assured that the Kinge feared to mooue warr against the
 realme of Fraunce. And notwthstandinge they spoke many
 approbrious words and dishonest, both against the realme of
 England, and against the Kinge, yet the lawe of Legates was 30
 in them obserued; for as they came, so they departed wthout
 trouble and vexacion.

Enguer-
 unt.

⁴ After that these Ambassadors had receaued of the
 Kinge manie rich giftes and rewards (w^{ch} they had not de-
 serued) they departed, and retourned into Fraunce, were tofore
 the Duke of Barry⁵ and others of the Kings Councell of

¹ benoite *Monstrelet*.

² *The clause notwithstandinge . . . wordes is an insertion of the Translator; it was omitted by Stow.*

³ *Liuius*, p. 6.

⁴ *Monstrelet*, iii. 75.

⁵ Barry *om. B.*

Fraunce in the Cittie of Parris they openly declared all the aunswere and ordinaunce of there Ambassage.

¹ Imediatly after the departure of this Ambassage out of England the Kinge laboured wth all dilligence for the apparel-^{Titus Liuius.} inge of his people and other things necessarie for the warr.¹ In the saide seconde yeare of his raigne in a greate Parlyament [at Leicester],² where Dukes, Earles, Barrons, Bisshopps, Abbotts, Knights and Burgesses were assembled, his Brother Humphrie, [was made]³ Duke of Glocester. And in the
10 same Parliament he enacted that euerie heretique in the Realme of Englande like as he was taken as an aduersarie to God he shoulde be taken as a traytor to the kings Ma^{tie}. Manie other fruitfull and profitable Statuts he made and enacted in the same Parliament, w^{ch} because they be not necessarie to my purpose, and also for that they be seriouslie recited in other bookes ordeyned for the same, I shall heare ouer passe and leaue vnwritten.

⁴ In this Parliament were deuises and meanes to gather Enguer-
monie of all the Commons of England to sustaine therewth unt.
20 the Kings warrs, and to make prouision of all things neces-
sarie for the same, whereof the summe leuied and gathered, as well of the spirituallitie as of the temporallitie, amounted to the somme of three hundered thousand Markes.⁵ And one the other part the Dolphine of Fraunce, who at that time had taken vppon him the charge of the Realme of Fraunce because of the disabillitie of the Kinge, after he was aduertised of his Ambassadors of the Kinge of Englands enterprise, assembled his Councell, the Duke of Barry,⁶ his vnckell, and diuers others of the greate states of Fraunce, by whose aduise and
30 counsell he deputed garrisons to all townes and fortresses of the sea side; he also gathered fynaunces by tayles and otherwise thorough all the Realme of Fraunce as much as was to him possible.

¹ *Livius*, pp. 6, 7.

² *om. MSS.*

³ *om. B.*; this most Christian Kinge made his brother Humfrie Duke of Glocester, and his brother John Duke of Bedforde *H.*

⁴ *Monstrelet*, iii. 70, 71; referring to the Council held at Westminster in April, 1415.

⁵ la somme de cinq cent mille nobles d'Angleterre *Monstrelet*. *Stow reads*, were deuised diuers meanes.

⁶ *Jean, duc de Berri.*

Olandyne
Apostata
slaine
against
the kinge
at Agin-
courte.

The Kinge greatelie desiringe the recouerie of his right in the realme of Fraunce (fastings, prayers to God, almes deedes, deuoute pilgrimages of the Kinge, and other deuocions and supplicacions of the Clergie and Commons had before) mustered his vniuersall hoast vpon the sea bankes at Southampton,¹ amonge whome he founde a certaine gentleman, whose name was Olandyne,² in whose companie were xx^{tie} men right well apparrelled for the warr. This Olandyne of time passed had geuen all his substaunce and goodes to poore people for Christ his sake, in greate deuocion entred a Monas-¹⁰ terie of the Charterhouse, and was professed in the same; whose wife was also professed in a house of religious weomen and therein continewd deuoutlie duringe her life. But this Olandyne, at the instigacion of the deuill, enemie to all vertue, after a little time repented of his profession, and made sute and laboure that he obtayned of the Pope a dispensacion to leave his religion, and to reprise his former temporall estate, and in the estate of a temporall man he offered to doe the Kinge seruice in his warr. But when the most vertuous Kinge was enformed of his life and conuersacion as the childe²⁰ of God, he refused the companie of this gentleman, as an inconstant man, and a contemner of the religion of Christ; at whose refuse this Olandine, havinge indignacion as a man replete wth pride, departed from the Kinge, and went into the aide of his aduersaries in Fraunce; where after he was slaine in the felde of Agincourt, right sore fightinge against the Englishmen.³

Trans-
lator.

O howe greate prudence and deuocion to God by this acte was proued to be in this Kinge! wth only hauinge his confidence in God and in the justice of his quarrell refused the companie³⁰ of them that he suspected to be of the indignacion of the highe and soueraigne iudge, to whose judgement onlie, leauinge of synners, he had committed the direccion of his house; wherefore and by the helpe of manie other greate and singuler virtues it is vndoubted that he obtayned such and so greate grace of

¹ *Livius*, p. 7, does not mention Southampton; the Translator supplies it from the *Brut*, p. 375. Stow quotes as above as from *Livius*.

² *procerem quendam Olandinum Livius: baro quidem de Holandia Pseudo-Elmham*, p. 35.

³ A free paraphrase of *Livius*, p. 7.

our Lorde, that by his helpe and succour (whereof he was neuer destitute) he attayned greate and incredible victories and conquests; for as we finde of authoritie by the Kings, Dukes, and Judges of the people of Isaraell in the olde testament, as by Daniel, Gedyon, and Judas Machabeus, and many others (whose histories are not requisite heare to write) God hath often deliuered his seruants that only haue there esoperaunce in him, that from the hands of tenn times so manie of their enemies, where he hath suffered greate multitudes of synners
10 and of such as have had their trust in the number of people, not havinge respect to their manner of conversation and luyinge, to perish and fall into the handfull of their enemies. Therefore, to my pretence, it is in this partie to be noted, that all Christian Princes, enterprising any iust quarrell of warr, ought by the example of this most Christian Kinge dewlie (for as much as in them is) to search and examine their companies and hoasts or armies, w^{ch} they prepare to attayne vpon their warr, and whome they finde therein contamynable wth apostacie, open aduoutrie, willfull murder, accustomed theft,
20 scuraledy, heresie, periurie, blasphemie by oathes, accustomed vsurie, simonie, extorcion, oppression of poore people, misvsinge the Sacraments of the Church, and generally wth anie other open and manifest abhominable offence or vice, whatsoever it be, if the person perseuer therein not reconciled, they ought, and are bounde to avoide that person vtterly from their companie, not lettinge for no fauour nor affection, least that God for the displeasure of that only sinfull person, wthdrawe his aide and fauour from the whole companie, wherein that transgressor is. The Prince that escheweth the presence of
30 such persons, and doth that in him is for their punishment, sheweth himselfe to bee th'ensuer and supporter of vertue, and the oppressour and scourge of vice, and also to be the verie faithfull and true childe of God. And to the contrarie that Prince, that supporteth such vicious persons and delighteth in their companie, and confidenceth in their helpe, proueth himselfe to the open iudgement of euerie man to be th'ensuer, supporter, and prouoker of vice, the oppressor, and confounder of vertue, and also to have little or none experience in the aide of God, who is all virtue and intirelie good, and at all

times restrayneth his hand from the aide hand of sinners excepte it be to their perpetuall damnation.

Titus
Liuius.

¹ In the foresaid muster or viewe of the Kings hoast was also discovered a greate and perrilous conspiracie of three men against the Kinge,² of whome the one was the Earle of Cambridge, brother to the Duke of Yorke, and nigh to the Kings blood; the second was Sr Thomas Gray, one of the Kings greate Councillors; and the third was the Lord Henrie Scrope, Treasurer of Englande, before that a knight of chivalorous fame, whome for the greate loue the Kinge had vnto him he vsed to haue for his bedfellowe.³

Policronicon.

These three persons had receaued out of Fraunce a right greate somme of monie, to th'ende that they shoulde by treason destroy there Soueraigne Lorde.⁴

Titus
Liuius.

But when they were taken and had confessed their offence, by the Kings iust iudgement they were condemned to loose their heades.⁵

Enguerunt.

⁶ And for the same conspiracie diuers others were put to execution by the Kings commaundement. The most vertuous Kinge lyinge now at Southampton wth his hoast in all things readilie apparrelled to passe the Sea and desiringe the recouerie of his inhabitation⁷ by meane of peace rather than of warr; in the ensuinge⁸ th'effusion of Christian blood⁹ sent to the Kinge of Fraunce his Harraulde wth letters, nowe againe demaunding Justice of his Inhabitants.

L^{ra}
Regis.

The tennor of wth letters ensewinge follow:—'To the Right 'noble Prince Charles our Cossyn, adversarie of Fraunce, Henrie 'by the grace of God, Kinge of England and of Fraunce greet- 'inge &c. To giue to euery man his right is the worke of 'Charitie and of sage Councell. Right noble Prince our Cossyn³⁰ 'and our aduersarie, of longe time passed and but nowe of late 'the noble Realme of Englande and of Fraunce were mutuall 'freinds either to other, and nowe they be deuided. Then they

¹ *Livius*, p. 8.

² *So far adopted by Stow.*

³ whome . . . bedfellowe, *not in Livius*, p. 8; *it comes from Monstrelet*, iii. 82.

⁴ *Policronicon*, p. 225; *Brut*, p. 375; *the former does not refer to the bribery.*

⁶ *Livius*, p. 8.

⁶ *Monstrelet*, iii. 78–81, 82.

⁷ inhabitation *om. B.*

⁸ *Read eschewing.*

⁹ *The first part of this sentence is an insertion by the Translator.*

'had of custome to inhaunce themselves in honnor through the
 'vniuersall worlde, by theire glorious victories, and to them was
 'appropriat one vertue, that was to support and exalt the house
 'of God wherevnto belongeth holines. And to conforme peace
 'betweene the Religions¹ of the Church, in subduinge of theire
 'puissance there publique [enemies]² by the victories of the
 'fortunate Battailes. But also that fraternall loue, faith, and
 'concorde nowe is chaunged into mutuall action.³ And Loth⁴
 'persecuteth Abraham by compulsion. The glorie of the
 10 'brotherlie loue is deade, and the auncient discencion of
 'humaine condicion and the mother of Ire is reuiued. But we
 'call to our witnes the Soueraigne Iudge, that to our possi-
 'bilitie we haue endeauored vs by praiers, by guiftes, and by
 'proffers to diminish part of our inhabitaunce in Fraunce, to
 'inclyne you to the way of peace, and the same we haue
 'prooued all the waies and meanes we coulede. But in so much
 'as we cannot attaine to our desired peace, wthout the greate
 'and intollerable preiudice of our auncient inheritaunce, wee be
 'not of so fainte and so smale courage but that we will fight
 20 'vnto death for our right. Not wth standinge we haue vsed,
 'and in this part doe vse the counsell authorised, intituled
 'Deuteronomy,⁵ where we be insigned and taught, that if we
 'come wth force to take any Cittie, Countrie, or Towne, first
 'wee owe to offer vnto them our peace. And though that
 'injustice and wrongfull violence hath of longe time wth drawne
 'and detayned from vs and our progenitors the nobles of our
 'Realme and right inhabitaunces,⁶ yet the zeale of peace hath
 'mooued vs in th'ensewinge⁷ of the effusion of blood to desyre
 'our saide right by way of peace; but since we perceauie vs
 30 'frustrate of our requests, for defaulte of justice we may law-
 'fullie demaunde our iust inhabitaunces by armes. Neuerthe-
 'les, that our outward acts may be witnes to conscience, nowe
 'by personall requests in this first entre of our iourney, where-

¹ *Read Regions: mettre paix és régions de l'Eglise Monstrelet.*

² *om. MSS.; les ennemis publiques Monstrelet.*

³ *celle foi de lignage a perverti celle occision fraternele Monstrelet.*

⁴ *both MSS.*

⁵ *Deuteronomy, xx. 10.*

⁶ *la noblesse de notre couronne et nos droits héritages Monstrelet.*

⁷ *Read the eschewing.*

'vnto we be constrayned for defaulte of justice, wee exhorte
 'you in the bowells of Jesus Christ to execute and doe that
 'thinge that the Euangelist teacheth, sayinge: "Freinde, pay
 'that thou owest, and restore that thou wrongefully detaynest."
 'And to th'ende that the blood of innocence be not spilt, wee
 'require due restitution of our rightful inhabitaunce by you
 'wrongefully wth houlden from vs, or at the least of those
 'things that wee so instantlie and so often by our Ambassa-
 'dours and messengers haue desired, wherewth only for the
 'loue of Soueraigne God, and for th'assurance of peace, we ¹⁰
 'shalbe contented. And we for our part rather offeringe peace
 'wth part of our right, then the auaricius treasures in cause of
 'marriage, to leaue and forsake fiftie thousand scutes, wth our
 'right deere Cosyn Catheryne, your glorious daughter, to vs by
 'your last Ambassadors offered. And wee for our part ¹ trust
 'rather to haue those our rightfull inhabitaunces, w^{ch} our noble
 'Auncestors left vnto vs, then wth that monie of iniquitie to
 'multiplie cursed treasures, and to disinherit the Crowne of
 'our realme, that God forbid. From vs yeouen vnder our
 'Seales priuate at our Castle at Hampton, vppon the riuage of ²⁰
 'the Sea, the 5th day of the moneth of August.'

²When this letter was deliuered to the Dolphine and others
 of the Kings Councell by the herauld, that had the charge of
 deliuerance thereof, it was aunswerde to the same Herraulde,
 that the Kinge and his Councell had seene his letter, and
 perseaued the contents thereof, wherevppon they woulde take
 deliberacion, and at there pleasure to puruey to aunswere
 thervnto in time and place convenient. And in the meane
 tyme the Herraulde was lycenced to depart and to returne to
 his M^r the Kinge of Englande at his pleasure.

30

Anno 3. In the thirde yeare of his raigne, in the month of August
 this most virtuous Kinge assembled his hoast at Southampton,
 as is before rehearsed, in the intent to passe the sea, and to
 conquer his right in Fraunce, for whose conveyance, and for his
 victualls and artillery, by the Kings commaundement were
 purveyed and brought thether for his wagis out of Holland and
 Zelande shippes, hulks, and other vessells, to such number that

¹ wee for our part *has been struck out in B., and omitted in H.*

² *Monstrelet*, iii. 81.

his whole nauy at his departinge from the lande accounted xvj. C. sayle.²

³ The xijth day of August the Kinge wth all his royall armie entered there shippes, w^{ch} were to the number of M., and ascended the sea: and the thirde night after they arriued prosperously at the Chiefe decaux⁴ in Normandy, w^{ch} is betwexte Hareflete⁵ and Humflete⁶: at whose comminge all the citties and greate estats aduertized (by them that fledd by the fieldes) were stricken wth greate feare. The Kinge, the
 10 Dukes of Clarence and of Gloucester, the kings bretheren, the Duke of Yorke, his vncle,⁷ Earles, Barrons, Knights, gentlemen, and all the multitude of the common people cast there ankers at Chiefe de Caux, and there ariued and to lande w^{thout} any resistaunce.

Then foorthwth the Kinge fallinge to the grounde vpon his knees deuoutly prayed vnto God that to the honnor of his diuinitie he woulde giue him iustice of his enemies.

Heere it is to be noted that this most victorious Prince had not his confidence only in his owne strenght and hardines, in
 20 the puissaunce of his bretheren or other his Lords and estats, ne in the greate multitude of armed people that he had brought wth him, but only that he had his trust in God, of whome at his first entrie into the lande, that he claymed to be his, he deuoutly desired Justice. The Kinge at his landinge in Normandie had in his hoast Six M. speares, and xxiiij. M. footmen, besides gunners and others that serued to cast engins, and besides other artificers and laborers, of whome the Kinge hadd greate abundance.⁸

⁹ And at his landinge he gaue to diuerse gentlemen the
 30 order of knighthoode, but first he assigned and committed the bearinge of his standards, and banners, and other ensignes to such men as he knewe to be of greate strenght and prowes,

¹ *Policronicon*, p. 225; *Brut*, p. 376.

² *Monstrelet*, iii. 70; *Stow* quotes this as from *Livius* and *Roger Wall*.

³ *Livius*, p. 8; *tercio Idibus*, i. e. 11th August which is correct; *Stow* has thirteenth of August.

⁴ Chef de Caux.

⁵ Harfleur.

⁶ Honfleur.

⁷ dux Eboraci, regis patruus *Livius*. York was Henry's cousin.

⁸ The numbers are added by the Translator from *Monstrelet*, iii. 83; they are much in excess of the truth, but are adopted by *Stow*.

⁹ *Livius*, pp. 8, 9.

and also [worthy]¹ to the bearinge of them; when euerie thinge was thus ordered in good aray, the Kinge wth all his hoast ascended to the topp or hight of an high hill there nighe vnto them, difcill and vneasie for armed men to mount vppon. And there the Kinge wth all his hoast the next day followinge solemnized the feast of Th'assumption of our blessed Lady wth dew honnor: and that solemnitie passed, the Duke of Clarence, chieftaine of the Kings first ward, in good ordinance entered his journey with the same warde toward a Towne called Harefleit, distant from Chiefe de Calx skarsly three 10 leagues, where he lodged his hoast in a goodly felde before the Towne, abidinge the Kings comminge. The Kinge, at his comminge, lodged himselfe nighe to the first warde in the playne felde not farr from the Towne. The Earle of Suffolke, chieftaine of the last warde, lodginge him and his companie also before the Towne one the other side of the Kings felde. And other noble men, that hadd the conduct of the two winges, lodged them on the right hand, and the other on the left hand of the hoast. Then this most Christian Kinge, at the first orderinge of his assiege, commaunded to be proclaymed 20 thorough the hoast, that vppon payne of death all Churches and hallowed houses shoulde be kepte inviolat, vnspoyled and vnharmed, nor that no man shoulde presume to take any hallowed vessell, or other commoditie, or ornament appertayninge to the Altar, nor no bookes nor other things necessarie for diuine seruice. And that they shoulde not enforce them to harme any man of the Church that they shoulde finde without armor, nor no woman, nor childe.²

Trans-
lator.

By this edict and proclamacion evidently proued both the loue and dreade that this most victorious Kinge had vnto God, 30 and to his Church, and ministers; the example whereof is not to be refused, nor lightly taken. But of all Christian Princes, that intend to obtayne honnor and to be victorious, it is to be effectually ensued and followed.

Titus
Liuus.

³ This and manie other edicts and proclamacions through the hoast published, forthwth were sent to the Towne men of

¹ *om. MSS.; dignosque Livius; Stow stops at prowess.*

² *Stow adopts the whole of this paragraph with very slight variation.*

³ *Livius, p. 9.*

arms in greate number to see the situation thereof, who briefelie returned to the Kinge wth a greate pray of cattell, and after made him answere in all his demaunds to the contentacion of his mynde.

¹ Hareflete is the key of the sea of all Normandie, and it is scituate vppon the sea side by the ryuer of Seen, betweene two hills, and through the middle thereof runneth a ryuer, w^{ch} not farr from the same Towne entereth in to the Seen; and from thence both theise riuers in one descende into the sea, ¹⁰ whereas a greate goodlie hauen is belonginge vnto the same Towne, w^{ch} hauen is garnished wth the defence of two fayre and stronge towers, and in the same hauen a right greate nauie of shippes may ride in safetie. And if the inhabitants of this Towne inclose and keepe wthin this Towne the course of the foresaide riuier to their sluce, as they may right well doo, then the riuier riseth wth out the Towne so high that it forecloseth all entries to the walls, so that no man may approach the Towne on that partie.² This Towne is also garnished wth high and thicke walls, and also wth manie Towers, and is also invironed ²⁰ wth broade and deepe ditches. To this belongeth also too gates onlie for entries, whereof the one is called the gate of Calthurances,³ and the other the gate Monstrouylier.⁴ In this Towne, besides the inhabitants thereof, for the defence of the same were these Lords; first the Lorde Disconteville,⁵ chiefe captaine of the Towne, the Lord Blanville, the Lorde Hacqueuile, the Lorde of Harmonville, the Lord Gancourt, the Lord Gallard bos,⁶ and diuers other Lords and men expert in warr, to the number before saide.⁷ These Lords caused the people to cast downe and breake the causey betwext ³⁰ Monstrevilges and Hareflete to impaire and hurte the Englishmens passage, and the stones of the same causey they conueyed

¹ *The following paragraph is quoted by Stow, who set Enguerant (Monstrelet) in the margin; as a matter of fact much of it comes from Livius.*

² *So far from Livius, p. 9; thence the Translator follows Monstrelet, iii. 83, 84.*

³ Caltmanes *H.*; Calturances *Stow*; Calcinences *Monstrelet*.

⁴ Montivilliers; Monstrouillier *Stow*.

⁵ Charles d'Estouteville.

⁶ Blainville, Hacqueville, Hermanville, Gaucourt, and Gaillart Bos (*Monstrelet*, iii. 83).

⁷ *Given by Monstrelet (iii. 83) as about four hundred; Stow omits to the number before saide.*

and carried wthin the walles of Hareflete. Neuertheles the Englishmen comminge by the good¹ conducte of the Kinge were not so sore oppressed by the breakinge of the causie, but that they came so nighe as to laye their siege before the Towne.

Titus
Livius.

² When the Kinge and all his hoast was come before the Towne, all his tents and pauillions were addressed, and sett vpp in the plaine fiede, wherwth that parte of the Towne³ was entirely inclosed. He also caused his greate hall to be sett vppon an hill at the backe of his hoast to serue in steade of ¹⁰ a Church,⁴ therein to honnor and serue God. And this done, after a little time of repose he commaunded the Duke of Clarence to siege the Towne one th'other part of the Towne and riuier, at whose commaundement the good Duke indeauored him to convey his people ouer the same riuier, ouer the passage whereof he had a great skirmish wth the inhabitants of the Towne⁵; but at the last his aduersaries put to flight and recoyled⁶ wthin the walls, the Duke conueyed ouer the river all his ward and companie; and on that side the riuier he fixed the tents and pauillions, w^{ch} inclosed that part of the ²⁰ Towne from the side of the same riuier by the foot of the hill vntill the banks of the Riuier of Sean. The Duke also sett his greate hall vppon the hill at the back⁷ of his warde or fiede, not farr from his hoast, therein to serue God as is aforesaide.⁸ And because the riuier deuided the Kings fiede and the Dukes, therefore they ordeyned a readie and sure passage ouer the same riuier betwext the fieldes; to the keepinge whereof were certaine gentlemen appointed, so that their enemies shoulde doe thereto no damage neither by water nor by lande. When all the tents and pauillions and ³⁰ halls were erect and set vpp, they seemed a right greate and mightie Citty. The artificers and laborers in the Kings

¹ comminge to good *MSS.*; by the *Stow*.

² *A loose and expanded rendering of Livius, p. 9; but adopted with some variation by Stow.*

³ of the fiede Towne *MSS.*

⁴ propter quoddam sacellum *Livius*.

⁵ Towne and river *MSS.*; Towne *Stow*; cum oppidanis *Livius*.

⁶ being put to flight recoyled *Stow*.

⁷ banck *B.*
⁸ Praetorium tamen suum in montis clivo itidem in sacello quodam erigit *Livius*; *Stow omits*.

hoast intended to their occupacions, some to raysinge engines against the Towne, and others about perticuler busines for the men of warr, as to digge trenches and such other like necessities, so that noe place of idleness was founde in them. The priests thorough all the hoasts were suffered to doe no other thinge, but onlie holie prayers to honnor God, and to saie their accustomed seruice, as they used to doe, when they were at home in England in time of peace.

¹ In this time befell a greate misaduenture to the Frenchmen Enguer-
 10 that were besieged, for the gunnpowder and shott that was unt.
 sent vnto them by the French Kinge, was encountred vppon the sea by the Englishmen, and taken to their greate displeasure and damage.²

³ The Kinge gaue the charge and order of this felde to his Titus
 brother Humphry, the Duke of Gloucester wth all the companies, Liuius.
 whereof he was Chiefetaine. On the same side the Kinge lay, and at the same side of the riuer was the Duke of Yorke, high Counstable of Englande,⁴ lodged wth his companie. When all the Kings hoast was lodged and everie man in his place, the
 20 Towne was so streightlie besieged amongst them that all entries and issues of the Towne were foreclosed and stopped, so that they in the Towne were in dispaire to haue anie succour from the realme of Fraunce. Manie torments and engines were raised in the English hoast, w^{ch} in briefe time shoulde haue bin the distruction of the walles, if they of the Towne had not stopped the riuer of the same Towne wthin, whereby the water gathered and arised wthout the Towne, betwexte the Kinge and the Duke of Clarence, to the semblaunce of a little sea, w^{ch} caused the Englishmen to withdrawe their
 30 ordinance and other engines, whereby at that time the walls were saued.

⁵ The Kinge wth greate dilligence caused to be made vnder Enguer-
 unt.

¹ *Monstrelet*, iii. 84; adopted by *Stow*.

² *Monstrelet* has simply: furent prins des asségans. The reference is to the convoy captured by Clarence outside the town; cf. *Pseudo-Elmhams*, p. 41.

³ *Livius*, pp. 9, 10; adopted by *Stow*.

⁴ regioque Marescallo *Livius*. Clarence was Constable.

⁵ *Monstrelet*, iii. 85. Néanmoins le dit roy d'Angleterre, en grand diligence et labeur, persévera toujours en son siège, et fist faire trois mines par dessoulz la muraille, qui estoient prestes pour effondrer. *Stow* adopts the Translator's story of mines under the water.

Titus
Liuus.

the water three greate mynes vnto the walls of the Towne, w^{ch} in like manner had bene the cause of their ruine, if th'inhabitants had not countermined them, and let their purpose.

¹ And the Duke of Clarence commaunded on his partie his myners to vndermyne the grounde, and to make a way into the Towne wthin the grounde, in intent by that meane to surprise his enemy sodenlie wthin the Towne; but there aduerser partie, aduertised thereof, countermined the Englishmen. At whose meetinge wthin the grounde was a cruell and deadly conflict, but finallie the English were frustrate of their intent, ¹⁰ and were compelled to desist from the enterprise, and partly by the Kings commaundement because his people had greater losse therein; and so remayned that worke vntill they might be lycenced of the Kinge to furnishe their promise begunne.²

Notwthstandinge daillie they encountered their enemies in the myne; and who most manly fought in the same, supposed himselfe to haue atchiued greater victorie. And so that myne that was begun for the sodaine invasion of the Towne was chainged into the exercise of knightlie acts. The Kinge daylie and nightlie in his owne person visited and searched the ²⁰ watches, orders, and stacions of everie part of his hoast, and whome he founde dilligent he praised and thanked, and the negligent he corrected and chasticed. Whilest he laie at this siege he sent into England all those shipps of his Nauie that were not apt and apparrelled for the water. And the other that were good, stronge, and well appointed for the warr, he commaunded to lye at the havens mouth of Hareflete to inclose it from all issues, and to foreclose from it all entries and succours of the Frenchmen; and also those shipps that were deputed to carrie engines or ordinaunce he commaunded to ³⁰ abide at the havens mouth in the companie of th'other shipps.³ Th'inhabitants and captaines of the Towne, perceauinge themselves thus streightlie asseiged, as well by the land as by the sea, conveyed all their shipps wthin their haven, and bounde them together wth chaynes. And in the two towers that were made for the defence of the haven they put in certaine garri-

¹ *Livius*, p. 10.

² *A free paraphrase.*

³ *At this point Stow (who had stopped at letting their purpose) resumes.*

sons and armed men, both for defence of the haven, and of their shippes. And dyuers times they attempted by all the strenghts and cautellous meanes they coulde imagine to invade the Kings Navie; but at all times they were by the shippes beaten and constrayned to recoyle vntill within their haven¹. At the last their Captaines and inhabitants, consideringe that by such skirmishes (as well vppon the land as vppon the sea) they gayned nothinge but their proper losse and damage, tooke this appointment wth the Kinge, that
 10 if they were not rescued by the Frenchmen wthin certaine daies² lymited, they shoulde then deliuer into his hands the Towne; such as the Kinge woulde desire to be ordered at the Kings pleasure; and all the residue, as well men of warr as th'inhabitants of the same Towne wthout armour, and leaueinge behinde them their goods, should freelie goe where they woulde; for the suretie of such appointment surely to be kept they deliuered vnto the Kinge twelue of the greatest parsonages for pledges.

³ And for to giue knowledge of this appointment and of Enguer-
 20 their greate necessitie and dainger vnto the Dolphine (who^{unt.} at that time lay at Vernon, wth the Kinge, vppon Seen) the Captaines of the Towne sent vnto him the Lord Hacqueville, who in there names desired aide and succoure of him, to whome fynally was aunswered: That the Kings power was not at that time assembled, nor readie to giue them succour as they desired; wth w^{ch} aunswere the Lord not well contented retourned wth greate discomfort to Harefleet, declaringe to his the aunswere that he had receaued of the Dolphine.⁴

⁵ The Captaines and inhabitants of the Towne seeinge their
 30 day of appointment approach, and themselues vtterly desperate of any succors of their people, ordayned to performe there couenant at the day prefixed. At w^{ch} day the Kings great

¹ Quas cum timentes oppidani suas omnes infra portum ligatas catenis tutelaque munitas deduxerant, et in Anglicos omni qua via poterant obsessi saepius erumpere tentarunt, sed ab obsidentibus repulsi cedere semper coacti *Livius*; *Stow gives the text as above with some abbreviation.*

² infra sex dies *Livius*.

³ *Monstrelet*, iii. 85. *Stow omits this paragraph.*

⁴ *Monstrelet has simply*: Et sur ce s'en retourna le dit seigneur de Hacqueville à Harfleur.

⁵ *Livius*, p. 11.

pretory of sylke¹ was erect in the fields, from w^{ch} pretorye or paulion vnto the Towne was made a way or lane enclosed on both the sides wth armed Englishmen, by w^{ch} waye² the daie of their appointment, w^{ch} was the day of Saint Maurice,² came S^r Lionell Braquemont, a noble knight and gouernor of the Towne, vnto the Kings highnes and kneelinge before his Grace saide these words: 'Most victorious Prince, behold here 'the keyes of this Towne, w^{ch} after our promise I yealde vnto 'you wth the Towne, my selfe, and my companie.' Then were brought to the Kings grace by his commaundement, the Lord¹⁰ Coteville, the Lord Gangcourt,³ and other of the number of thirtie persons, as they before had couenaunted. And all the residue, as well souldiers and inhabitaunts, were suffered vnarmed to goe freely at their pleasure.

When the gates of the Towne were opened, and that the King approached vnto them in purpose to enter the Towne, he disceded from his horse w^{thout} the Gate, and from thence, w^{thout} hosen or shoes, in greate deuocion he went imediatly to the Church of Saint Martines, Metropolitan of that Towne,⁴ and there he made his prayers deuoutlie in thankinge and²⁰ praysinge his Creator of his good Fortune.⁵ O maruelous constance! that by the prouidence of God had made them habitation w^{thout} mutabilitie in this most noble Prince, who in his youth was most mutable and voyde of all spirituall vertues.

And whome none for noe perswacions or inhauncements of fortune they suffered in his victories in any thinge to decline from the Soueraigne vertues of faithe and humilitie. But voyde of all pride and vaine glorie, causeth him in greate deuocion, as well in the beginninge, as in the atchiuinge of his enterprise,³⁰ at all times to thanke, honnor, and praise his maker, by whose onlie aide and comfort he vndoubtedlie beleeueth to attaine

¹ de serico regium praetorium *Livius*.

² Interpolated by the Translator from *Monstrelet*; 22nd Sept.

³ dominus de Toteville, dominus de Gancourt *Livius*; the Lord Coteville, the Lord Gangcourt *Stow*; they were Charles d'Estouteville and Raoul de Gaucourt.

⁴ parochiale d'icelle ville *Monstrelet*.

⁵ So far from *Monstrelet*, iii. 94; adopted by *Stow*. The next sentence and the beginning of the following paragraph appears to be an interpolation by the Translator.

wth honnour to the ende of that he hath begunn ; not like vnto the conquered, in most pompe and pride, delightinge in vaine prayses and lauds of the people, and labouringe to make the victories to be ascribed vnto themselues, as if God intermedled not of such affairs. When this most victorious Kinge had thus deuoutlie thanked God of the Fortunate Conquest of this Towne, he commaunded to be brought befor him all those Lords, and gentlemen that were yealded to him as prisoners, whose names he caused to be put in writinge ; and vppon
 10 there oathes to yealde themselues prisoners at Calice, where they were receaued prisoners, vppon S^t Martins daye next followinge, they were deliuered out of the Towne of Harefleet. Att w^{ch} time and day accordinge to there appointment they came to Callis as prisoners, and were ransomed at greate fynauces.¹ After the deliuerie of this Towne, the two afore-saide Towers, that defended the hauen, resisted the Kings power, and rebelled against him by the space of tenn daies. At the ende of w^{ch} daies, because they were in dispaire of succour, they yealded them to the Kinge, and all the souldiours
 20 and inhabitants, both of the Towne and of the Towers, were suffered to goe freelie vnarmed whether they woulde.² When the Kinge was thus possessed both of the Towne and Towers, by his commaundement was deuided to euey man of the Kings hoast,³ after his degree and desert, all the booties and gaine that they had wthin the Towne, and namelie horses, whereof they founde a right greate multitude there. Then the Kinge constituted Captaine of the Towne S^r Thomas Beaforde, Earle of Dorset, his vncl, to whome he also committed two thousand souldiers, chosen men of his hoast, for to keepe, and
 30 defend the same Towne and Towers.⁴ These things thus done and finished, the Kinge assembled all his estates and Lords of his hoast to counsell, w^{ch} was to be done after the victorie of this defensable and stronge Towne, w^{ch} they had conquered wthin thirtie and eight daies : notwthstandinge that for the

¹ Not at once. Charles d'Estouteville was still a prisoner in 1422. The statement is an insertion by the Translator.

² So far from Monstrelet, iii. 94, 95 ; adopted by Stow. The Translator then follows Livius, pp. 11, 12.

³ house B. ; militi cuique Livius.

⁴ for to keepe . . . Towers, an interpolation by the Translator.

Enguer-
unt.¹Titus
Liuius.

streinght it ought to haue fearde a straighter assiege of an whole yeare. It was then thought convenient by such there whole Councell, in as much as winter approached nigh, to retorne into England. But then it was debated amongst them vppon their passage, whether they shoulde retourne the next and surest way by water, or else they shoulde passe thorough their enemies land by Callice. The more part con-
discended to goe by lande. But the Duke of Clarence, wth diuers other Lords, consideringe the greate losse of those men that they had susteyned by the death of the Flixe, that then rayned amonge them, and manie other sicke of the same, by w^{ch} infirmitie died the Earle of Stafforde,² the Bisshopp of Norw^{ch}, the Lord Beamount, and diuers other noble men, and of the commons to the number of two thousand and aboue,³ considered also the men they had left for the defence of Hareflete to the minishinge of their hoast, and most especiallie considered the greate and infinit multitude of their enemies, w^{ch} then were assembled to empech and let the Kings passage by land, whereof by their espies they had knowledge, aduised and councelled the retorne into England by water, as for the more fare passage. To whose counsell the Kinge aunswered in this manner, sayinge, 'he greatly desired to see those lands, 'whereof he ought to be Lord. "And though," saide he, "they 'prepare against vs a greate hoast of people, our trust and 'confidence is in God, that they shall not prevayle against vs, 'nor none of ours, nor we shall not suffer that they, that be 'inflate wth pride, shall iniuriouslie possesse and inioy that of 'right belongeth vnto vs. And if we shoulde thus depart, 'they would say in reproof of vs and of our realme of England, 'that for feare we left our right, and were so sodainely fledd. 30
'Therefore we haue at this time the stomake encouraged, and 'woulde rather submitt our body to all perills, then they shoulde 'into our kingdom the least note of reproofe. Wee shall goe, to 'the pleasure of God, wthout preiudice or perrill. And, if they 'laboure to disturbe vs of our iourney, we shall escape there 'mallice wth honnorable victorie and greate Tryumphe.' And

¹ This reference is misplaced.² A mistake for Suffolk; Stow corrects.³ The names and numbers are inserted by the Translator, from Monstrelet, iii. 85.

foorthwth this sentence published and knowne mooued the stomaks and encouraged the harts of euerie man; nor there was not one that contraried his pleasures, least they shoulde be reprooued of the Kinge of feare and cowardnes. Then wth all speedie dilligence was prepared for this iourney by land wth companies and retinewes of men of warr. The Kinge ordayned to goe wth him three battailes and two winges, as thus of Englishmen is [accustomed,]¹ of those men that were left vnto him; of whome was no plenteous number, for, as is aforesaide, 10 he had lost manie by the infirmite of the flyxe, and manie others there were that were diseased of the same sicknes, w^{ch} were left behinde him. And also were left at Harefleet two thousand souldiars of his hoast for the defence of the same.² When the Kinge had thus ordered his battailes, and³ sent his brother the Duke of Clarence into England by water wth a greate part of his army for the defence of his nauie, w^{ch} also greatly diminished his owne companie. ⁴After he had tarried Enguer- at Harefleet xv daies after the deliuerance of the Towne and unt. of the Towers, he departed from thence and entred his journey 20 towards Callice.

⁵Whereof when his enemies were aduertised, and also by Titus what waie he intended to passe, all the people of the countrie Liuius. and also of the Citties and of the Townes were maruelouslie oppressed wth feare, and namelie for the takinge of Harefleet, wherfore they hasted them to defensible places, w^{ch}, in all hast to them possible, as well as they coulde, they victualled both for men and also for horsses. And other that were apt to warr tooke them to their horsses, and assembled them together in great number, wth no small companie of footmen, and in all 30 that they might they oppressed the Englishmen. The Kings hoast kept an easie pase, wthout makinge any hast, and when they approached the Towne of Ewe⁶ there enemies, beinge there in armes and aduertised of there comminge, applied them in the felde wth greate force and noyse, where on both parties it was foughten sore and vigorously, but the Frenchmen

¹ *om. MSS.*; ut consueverunt Anglici *Livius*.

² *Thus far (from When the kinge was thus possessed) is based on Livius, pp. 11, 12, though paraphrased by the Translator.*

³ *Sic in MSS.*; read *he*.

⁴ *Monstrelet, iii. 95.*

⁶ *Livius, p. 12.*

⁶ *Eu; Eutentis corruptly in the printed Livius.*

might not longe endure the streight of the Englishmen, wherefore they must of force recoyle wthin the Towne ; where they were in good sureties, for the Kinge abroad not to assiege the Towne.¹

Enguer-
unt.

²At this encounter was slaine a right valliant man at armes one the Frenchmens part, whose name was Launcellot Piers, for whose death the Frenchmen made greate dole and sorrowe. From thence the Kinge departed and came to a passage of the Riuier of Some,³ w^{ch} the Frenchmen call Blanckhestake ⁴ or Blaunchtache, where longe tofore passed ouer his Auncestor ¹⁰ and progenitor Kinge Edward the Thirde, when he obtayned the Battayle of Cresse against Phillipp of Valoys, Kinge of Fraunce. This passage at the comminge to it was fixed wth sharpe stakes by there enemies of that countrie, so that they coulede not passe ouer the riuier there. And that the Frenchmen had so done to the intent that the Kinge, and his hoast shoulde seeke there passage ouer that riuier higher into Fraunce, and more neare to the heade of the same fludd. Thus the Englishmen were constrayned to seeke further, seekinge there passage vntill they came directlie to haue the Cittie of Amiens ²⁰ and the Castle of Corbye on there left side.⁵ Then they of the saide Cittie, after they had perceaued the ensignes and banners of the Englishmen, begann wth them a newe fight both one horsebacke and one foot. And the Frenchmen wth greate number, wth greate clamor and noyse, as the vsage is amongst them, enforced them against the English hoast, of whome they were shortlie vanquished and constrayned to returne to theire holdes. In this time it was complayned to the Kinge a certaine Englishman in the hoast had violentlie taken from a Church a pixe of syluer. Then imediatly after the Kinge com- ³⁰ maunded his hoast to abide wthout moouinge vntill the sacrealledge was purged. And first was the saide pixe restored againe vnto the Church, and the trespasser was ledd bounde as a thiefe thorough the hoast, and after hanged vppon a tree,

¹ *Stow abbreviates this paragraph.*

² *Monstrelet*, iii. 95. *Stow omits the first sentence.*

³ Somme.

⁴ *Blanche Taque*; *Blankhestoke Stow.*

⁵ *dum Ambianensis civitas a sinistris et castellum de Corbie apparissent Livius. Amiens and Corbie are some distance apart; the former was passed on 15th Oct., the latter not till 17th Oct.*

that euery man might beholde him. After whose death the armye was commaunded to reprise the former journey.¹

O Maruelous God! that of thine infinite goodnes amongst such and so manie excellent vertues hast rooted in that most vertuous Kinge so highe and perfect degree of Justice, that he as that other Josua, that for his couetous stoned to death Achan,² put to death this his souldier for the offence, notwithstandinge that he knewe perfectly that the time approached right nigh wherein he shoulde haue great neede of th'aide and
 10 number of men; but what³ maruaile he, that had his confidence only in God and Justice, and not in the number of people, loued better the absence of synners then their companie. And vndoubtedly he that shall attayne to conquests and honnour must first by th'exemple of this invincible conquerour conforme himself to semblable vertues. Then to returne to our former purpose.

As the Kinge iourned by certaine daies seekinge his passage ouer the riuer of Some, by some Frenchmen that were prisoners in the hoast was shewed vnto him a certaine passage
 20 ouer the same riuer not much vsed, and before that day not knowne but of fewe, by w^{ch} passage the Englishmen passed the river sure inough.⁴ The next day after the feast of Saint Luke the Euangelist⁵ the Kinge passed the Riuer of Some at the passage of Voyenne & Bethewe Courte,⁶ w^{ch} passages were not kept by them of S^t Quintins as they were inioyned of the French Kinge. When the Kinge of England had thus passed the ryuer he went to lodge him at Mounche lagache,⁷ from whence he aduaunced him towards the ryuer of Myramount.⁸ In this meane time the French Kinge and
 30 the Duke of Guyan,⁹ his sonn then Dolphine, purposinge to prouide for the resistaunce of the Englishmen, came to Roane,¹⁰ where the one and twentieth day of October was holden the Councell, w^{ch} ¹¹ was to be done against the Kinge

Trans-
lator.

Titus
Liuus.

¹ *The latter part of this paragraph (from This passage at the comminge) is correctly noted by Stow as derived from Livius, p. 13.*

² *Joshua vii. 24, 25.*

³ *wth B.*

⁴ *Livius, p. 13; the rest of the paragraph comes from Monstrelet, iii. 97-9.*

⁵ *October 19th.*

⁶ *Béthencourt; Vienna and Bethew court Stow.*

⁷ *Monchy-Lagache.*

⁸ *Miraumont.*

⁹ *Guienne.*

¹⁰ *Rouen.*

¹¹ *So MSS.; read what.*

of Englande. At w^{ch} Councell was present Lewis, the Kinge of Cicill,¹ the Dukes of Barry² and of Brittanie, the Earle of Pontieu,³ the eldest son of the saide King Lewis, the Chauncellor of Fraunce and of Guyon,⁴ and of manie other noble Councellors to the number of xxxv. ; amongst whome, after they had deuised and reasoned many things in the presence of the King vppon this matter, at the last it was concluded by thirtie of them that the Englishmen shoulde be encountered and foughten wth at the appointed day⁵; but in the ende the opinion of the greatest part was approued and holden; wherevppon in¹⁰ all possible hast the Kinge sent his letters to his Counstable, and to others his officers, secretlie commandinge them that, imediatly vppon the knowledge of his commaundement, they shoulde assemble them together wth all the puissaunce that might be had, and that they shoulde incounter the Kinge of Englande and his people. Then imediatly was published thorough all Fraunce, that all noble men accustomed to beare arms, and that desire to require honnor, should hast them night and daie to the Counstable of Fraunce, wheresoeuer [he was].⁶ And amongst all others Lewis, Duke of Guyon, then²⁰ Dolphine, had greate desire to goe to that felde; howe be it he was commaunded to the contrarie by the French Kinge, his father, and also by Lewis, his Councell, Kinge of Cicill, and of the Duke of Barry he was letted from that purpose. Then from all parts, all Lords, Knightes, and gentlemen, that alreadie were prepared and entered into their journey for the same, hastened them towards the Counstable of Fraunce. And when the Counstable, wth the more parte of the Lords and estats of the realme of Fraunce, approached the countrie of Artois, they sent the Lorde Mountganger⁷ vnto the Earle of Charolois,³⁰ the only sonn of the Duke of Burgundie, to certifie him of their enterprise, and to desire him affectuouslie in the Kings name and in the Counstabes, that he would vouchsafe to be at that journey. This foresaide Lord of Mountganger founde

¹ Louis of Anjou, King of Sicily.

² Jean, Duke of Berri.

³ Ponthieu.

⁴ les chanceliers de France et d'Aquitaine *Monstrelet*.

⁵ *Some words are omitted.* Et les cinq, pour plusieurs raisons, conseilloyent pour le meilleur à leur avis qu'on ne les combatist point au jour nommé. *Monstrelet*.

⁶ *om. MSS.*

⁷ le seigneur de Mongoguer *Monstrelet*.

the saide Earle at Arras, of whome he was right noblie receaued, and also of all his Lords. And after he had shewed vnto him his messuage, it was aunswered vnto him by those lords, that were chiefe councillors of the Earle, that he shoulde make such dilligence vppon the Kings request as shoulde be requisite ; and wth this aunswere [they were]¹ contented and retourned to the Counstable. And where this Earle of Charlois desired wth all his hart to be at this Journey against the Kinge of Englande, wherevnto also all his greate
 10 councillors had aduised him, yet neuerthelesse he was expresslie commaunded by John, Duke of Burgonie, his father, that in no wise he shoulde be at that Journey.²

This commaundment was not geuen to the saide Earle by the Duke his Father, for no fauour nor loue he had to the English partie, but only to the displeasure and variance betwixt the Dolphine and him, and the Duke of Orleance. Trans-
lator.

³ And for because the saide Earle of Charolois shoulde be the further place from the battaile, his Councell caused him to remooue to Arras, where notwthstandinge the greater parte
 20 of the people of his house, w^{ch} was aduertized of the day of the battaile appointed, departed secretlie wthout the saide Earles knowledge, and accompanied them with the Frenchmen against the English hoast. Enguer-
unt.

⁴ The disease and infirmitie that raigned amongst the Englishmen, nor the smale number of the Kings hoast was not vnknownen to the Frenchmen ; they also considered Journies that Englishmen had sustained longe by lande wthout anie greate corporall refection to repose for there main-
 30 tenaunce of theire streinght ; it was also remembred amongst them the great, puissant, and as an infinit, multitude of themselves, against whome, as they thought, it was impossible for so little an hoast (as the Englishmen were) to resist, namelie because that all the greate princes of the Realme of Fraunce were there assembled to disturbe the kings passage ; of whome the most principall were these: the Dukes of Orleance, of Brabaunt, of Burbony,⁵ of Alannson, and of Barrowe,⁶ the

¹ *om. MSS.*² *Monstrelet*, iii. 99.³ *id., ib.*⁴ *Livius*, pp. 13, 14.⁵ Bourbon ; Burgonie B.⁶ Bar ; dux de Baro *Livius*.

lord Charloise labored,¹ at this time the Counstable of Fraunce, whose progenitors were liege to the Kings of Englande as of their duchie of Guyon, the Earle of Neuers, brother to the Dukes of Burgonie and of Brabaunt, the Archebisshoppe of Sence,² and manie other greate Lords and men of honnor. These men, hauinge their confidence only in their multitude, sent three of their harralds to the Kinge of England to giue him knowledge that he shoulde not escape wthout battaile; w^{ch} harralds, when they come to the Kings hoast, were first brought to the Duke of Yorke, and by him they were pre-¹⁰ sented to the Kinge, before whome they fell on their knees; and, after they had obtayned lycence to saie their message, they spake in this manner: ‘Right puissant Prince, greate and noble is thie kingly force, that is reported of thie Ma^{tie} amongst other princes and lords, they heare that by thie strenght and prowes, thou laborest to conquer Townes, Citties, and Castells of the Realme of Fraunce; they heare also of the greate destruccion thou doest one Frenchmen; for w^{ch} causes, and for the performance of their oath that they haue made to the Kinge, manie of our Lords be assem-²⁰ bled to defend this Realme, the Kings right and their owne. And vppon this by vs they giue thee knowledge, that, before thou come to Callice, they will meete thee in intent to fight wth thee.’ This victorious Kinge, after he had heard their message, and vnderstood the effect thereof, wth a courageous hart, wth a constant countenance, w^{ch} none ire ne none displeasure moued, no collar of his face changinge, wth a moderate and softe speech, gaue vnto them this aunswere sayinge: ‘At all things be don at the pleasure of God.’ And when he was demaunded of the harralde, w^{ch} waie he woulde³⁰ keepe, he aunswered: ‘To Callice’; and there too addinge he saide: ‘If our aduersaries doe attempt to disturbe vs in our journey, they shall not doe it wthout their owne greate preiudice and daingerous perrill, we thinke; we seeke them not, neither for the feare of them wee shall not mooue the softlier, nor make the greater hast. Neuerthelesse we aduise them they let not our journey, nor they seeke not th’effusion

¹ sc. Charles d’Albret; dominus de la Bret *Livius*.

² Sens.

'of so much Christian bloode.' The harralds contented wth this aunswere, and rewarded wth an hundred Crownes of French money, and lycenced to depart, retourned to there Prince, to whome they reported their aunswere that they had heard.¹

² The King of Englande whome was left at Monchylagach,³ Enguer-remooued from thence and went to lodge him in a village unt. called Forrceville, aduauncinge his hoast towards the Riuier of Myramount;⁴ and the next daye, w^{ch} was Wednesday,⁵ they passed by the Cheve⁶ and lodged them that night in
10 diuers places. The King lodged him at Bonyors Lestauillon,⁷ and the Duke of Yorke, his vnkle, captaine of the vauntgarde, lodged him at Fremouch⁸ vppon the riuier of Chanche.⁹ And the residue of th'englishmen and hoast were lodged in diuers other places, so that that night they were deuided into seauen or eight seuerall places or Townes. That notwthstandinge they had no manner of displeasure of their enemies that night; for the Frenchmen were gon to be before them in their way towards St Paule,¹⁰ and vppon the ryuer Myramount.¹¹ And the Thursdaie next ensewing the Kinge remooued from
20 Bonniers and rodd in right fayre ordinance vnto Bangay.¹²

¹³ And for asmuch as he was aduertised tofore of a riuier in Titus that journey ouer w^{ch} they must passe by a bridge, and if Liuius. peraduenture that bridge were broken by there aduersaries he coulde not haue passage wthout his great preiudice and perrill, he sent therefore before certaine noble horsemen, wth them he assigned certaine footmen, to defende and keepe the bridge; where, at there comminge thether, they founde many Frenchmen, that enforced them to breake the bridge, vnto whome the Englishemen gaue battaile, and after a longe and cruell
30 fight betwext them, manie of there aduersaries were slaine,

¹ *Livius*, p. 14; abbreviated by *Stow*.

² *Monstrelet*, iii. 100.

³ Monchy-Lagache.

⁴ Miraumont.

⁵ 23rd October.

⁶ chevaucha par emprés Lucheu *Monstrelet*; the Cheue *Stow*.

⁷ Bonnières l'Escaillon.

⁸ Frévent; Tremouth, *B.*; Fremont *Monstrelet*.

⁹ Canche; a blank seems to have been left in *B.* in the first instance.

¹⁰ St. Pol.

¹¹ la rivière d'Aujain *Monstrelet*; the scribe repeated the previous passage from and the next daye, but afterwards erased it; in this second version he wrote, Riuier of Arnon. *Stow omits*.

¹² Blangy.

¹³ *Livius*, p. 15; om. *Stow*.

many wounded, and many taken prisoners, and all the residue put to flight. They wanne the bridge, and kept it from hurt. This day was the three and twentieth of Nouember,¹ vppon w^{ch} daie is solemnized in the Church the Commemoration of Saint Romaine the confessor.

Enguer-
unt.

² At w^{ch} bridge when the Duke of Yorke, Chieftaine of the first warde, had passed the water, and had ascended the mountaines, his espies³ perceaued from all parts the Frenchmen comminge by greate multitudes of men of armes, w^{ch} went to lodge them in Ronsianvile,⁴ and other places there-¹⁰abouts, in intent to be before the Englishmen, and the next day to befight them.

Titus
Liuius.

⁵ When the English espies had perceaued the Frenchmen in so greate number, one of them wth fearefull countenaunce, and sorrowfulle sighinge,⁶ reported vnto the Duke of Yorke, that there were approached vnto them an innumerable multitude of there aduersaries; whereof when the Duke had true knowledge by their spies and courours, that had also seene them, he gaue to the Kinge knowledge thereof; who, wthout feare or yre, gaue to the middle ward, whereof he was conductor,²⁰ charge to abide, and geuinge spurrs to his horse he hasted to see his enemies, whome he perceaued to be an innumerable hoast. Then he returned to his felde wth a constant mynde, not mooued wth feare, but as he that putteth his whole confidence in God and in Justice. After this he ordered his battailes, and distributeth to euery Captaine his number, and his order, and place of fightinge, and in what manner. He kept his hoast readie ordered in the felde vntill night; and when the day was passed, and that no light at all was perceaued, he disposed him to get some harbour for that night,³⁰ both for him and for his people, where they might have corporall refection and repose of their bodies. And in that night, whome a terrible battell was to followe, in that region unknowen they coulede finde no place nigh vnto them, wherein

¹ xi. Kal. Novembris *Liuius*, sc. 22nd October; *the true date was* 24th October (ix. Kal. Nov.).

² *Monstrelet*, iii. 100, 101; *om. Stow.*

³ Espies *is written in a space at first left blank*; companies *H.*

⁴ Ruisseauville. ⁵ *Liuius*, p. 15; *om. Stow.*

⁶ sightinge *B.*, anelito anxio *Liuius*.

to be refreshed, except that diuinely there was showed vnto them a certayne white way ; by the w^{ch} they were ledd to a certayne little village called Aigincourt,¹ where they were a little better refresshede wth meate and drinke then they had bin in there journey before ; where also the Kinge for that night tooke a little house for his lodginge. From that place where the Kinge had sett his battailes in array vntill they came vnto the Towne, by the commaundement of the Kinge, was no cry nor noyse heard of the Englishmen, as they vsed
 10 tofore, but everie man went peaceable. And when they came to the village aforesaide, they kindled their fyres, and ordered and made watches. In like manner also did the Frenchmen, w^{ch} scarslie were distant from the English the space of two hundred and fiftie spaces.²

³ And the same proper Thursday towards the eueninge for Enguer-
 certayne courses⁴ Phillipp, the Earle of Neuers was made unt.
 knight by the hand of Bouncialt, the Maister⁵ of Fraunce, and wth him were made knights manie other greate Lords and gentlemen of Fraunce. This night came vnto the French
 20 hoast the Counstable of Fraunce, who lodged himselfe nigh Agincourte. Then all the Frenchmen assembled themselues together in one hoast, and lodged themselues vpon the playne felde, every man as nigh to his owne banner as he coulde, except some people of smale estate, that lodged them in villages nigh vnto the felde. And the Kinge of England wth his Englishmen was lodged in a little village called Masencelles, iij. shotts of a bowe or thereabout from the Frenchmen.

Howbeit all other Authors⁶ that I haue read, resite that he Trans-
 30 was lodged that night at Agincourt, but whereso he was lator.
 lodged it was not greatlie materiall, in as much as all myne Authors accord in this pointe that the felde was fought in

¹ in villam quendam *Livius*. *Stow* follows the *Translator*, but adds Enguerant saith Masencelles. Maisoncelles (under a mile south of Agincourt) is correct.

² The scribe of Bodley 966 apparently intended to alter this to paces ; but *Stow* has spaces.

³ *Monstrelet*, iii. 101 ; om. *Stow*.

⁴ à aucunes courses *Monstrelet*.

⁵ maréchal *Monstrelet*.

⁶ It is not clear what authors the *Translator* intends. *Livius* has in villam quendam ; *Walsingham* (*Hist. Angl.* ii. 310) in quadam villa.

a plaine adioyninge to Agincourt, and for that reason the
 felde beareth the name of the Towne.

Enguer-
 unt.

¹ The Frenchmen wth all their greate Lords and Captaines
 fixed there banners and standards wth greate joy and mirth
 wth the banner Royall, whereof the Counstable had the
 conduct and charge, in the felde by them deuised and chosen,
 w^{ch} was in the County of S^t Paule in the ground of Agincourt,
 by w^{ch} the day followinge the Englishmen shoulde passe to
 goe to Callice.

Poli-
 cronicon.

² And that night the Frenchmen made greate fyers, everie ¹⁰
 man vnder his banner; and that night the Frenchmen, fishinge
 before the nett, played the Englishmen at dyce, as if they
 had bin assured of the victory, whereby the purveyaunce of
 God they disappointed.

Enguer-
 unt.

³ And although the French were in number a CI. thousand,
 whereof the most part had their horssees wth them there, and
 besides that they had manie other horssees in their charriotts,
 waggons, and carts, and other waggons and carriages, whereof
 they had greate plenty amongst them, they had fewe or none
 instruments of musicke to reioyce the companies wth; nor of ²⁰
 all that night tofore the battaile right fewe, or in a manner
 none of there horses brayed or made any noyse, whereof manie
 men had maruile suspectinge it to prefigure some maruelous
 fortune to come. But the Englishmen ceased not of all the
 night to blowe or sound there busines, trumpets, or other
 musicks, whereof they had greate plenty, in so much as all the
 ground about them resounded at their noyse. The night
 before the felde the Duke of Orleance accompanied wth the
 Earle of Richmunde, who had the conduct of the people of
 the Dolphine and also of the Brittaines, assembled them to ³⁰
 the number of two thousand basnetts of other Frenchmen wth
 shott, and went secretlie to the lodges of Th'englishmen,
 w^{ch} by the good ordinaunce of the Kinge, wer all readie put
 in array doubtinge the invasions of their enemies. Then
 began the shott one both parties, w^{ch} endured not longe, but
 that the Frenchmen were constrayned to wthdrawe them to
 their whole hoast. After w^{ch} enterprise the saide Duke of

¹ *Monstrelet*, iii. 101.

² *Brut*, p. 378; not in *Policronicon*.

³ *Monstrelet*, iii. 101-3.

Orleance and many other noble men were made knights ; and thus they passed that night ¹ wthout doeing any other feate of warr one either partie. Duringe this time the Duke of Brittain, notwthstandinge that he had sent ² a part of his people tofore, was come to Amiens wth six thousand fightinge men, in the aide of the Frenchmen, and had ioyned wth them if they had tarried his comminge till the Satterday. And in like manner the Lord Longue,³ Marshall of Fraunce,⁴ accompanied wth six C. men of armes, was also comminge into theire
 10 helpe, and lodged the same day of the battaile six leagues from the whole hoast ; and the morninge next after he remooued passing early,⁵ in trust to come to the fielde.

⁶ The xxvth day of October, after mattins, masses,⁷ prayers Titus
 and supplicacions of the Kings priests saide and done wth all Liuius.
 devotion, that most Christian Kinge of England in the morn-
 inge verie early sent forth his hoast in array. He commaunded
 that his horses, and all other carriages and impediments,
 shoulde be left in that village, where he had lodged that night,
 vnder the guard and keepinge of a fewe persons, and wth him
 20 he tooke nothinge but mens bodies, harnes, and weapons.
 The order of his fielde was : his owne battaile was not distant
 farr from another.⁸ The middle battaile, whereof the Kinge
 was conductor, and wherein he intended to fight, was sett in
 the middle of the fielde directly against the middle battaile of
 theire aduersaries. One the right hande or side was the first
 battaile, and therewth the right winge. And on⁹ the left
 side the last battaile, and the left winge. And theise battailes
 ioyned nigh together, and by the purveyaunce of God was
 proued vnto the Kinge, w^{ch} had his speciall confidence in God
 30 and in Justice, a defensible place for his hoast ; for the village,
 wherein he was lodged that night tofore, defended his hoast
 from all hostile inuasions one the backe, and the fielde,

¹ fight *B.* ; pour cette nuit *Monstrelet*.

² spent *B.*

³ Seigneur de Longny.

⁴ French *B.*

⁵ se partit tres matin *Monstrelet*.

⁶ *Livius*, p. 16 ; *Stow* (who had omitted the two previous paragraphs) now resumes.

⁷ mattins, masses *om.* *Stow* ; Martins masses *H.*

⁸ A mistranslation ; non longe distabat acies una de reliquis *Livius* ; read one for his owne. *Stow* omits.

⁹ on *om.* *B.*

wherein he was, was defended one both sides wth two smale riuers.¹ This Noble Kinge was armed with sure and beauteous shininge armour, and vppon his heade was a bright helmet, wherevppon was set a crowne of goulde repleate wth pearles and precious stones, maruelous rich; and in his shield he bare the Armes of Englande and of Fraunce. And thus armed, as he that feared not not to be knowne of his aduersaries, he was mounted vppon a greate and goodly horse, and after him were ledd certain noble horses wth theire bridles and trappers of gouldesmithes worke, maruelouslie rich, as the ¹⁰ manner of Kings is. And vppon them also in the same worke were beaten the Armes of Englande and of Fraunce. Thus this most victorious Kinge, prepared and disposed to battaile, encouraged his people to the fielde that approched at hande. And to one great estate ² of his companie, w^{ch} desired to the pleasure of God that everie man of warr wthin England were there wth them presentlie readie apparrelled for battaile, the Kinge made this aunswere: 'Trulie I woulde not that my
'companie were increased of one person more than nowe it is.
'Wee be, as to the regards of our enemies, but a verie smale ²⁰
'number. But if God, of his infinit goodnes, fauour our causes
'and right (as we surelie trust) there is none of vs that may
'attribute this so greate a victorie to our owne power but only
'to the hande of God; and by that we shall the rather be
'prouoked to giue him due thanks therefore; and if per-
'aduenture for our sinns we shall be giuen into the hands of
'our enemies and to the sworde, (w^{ch} God forbid) then the
'lesse our companie bee, the lesse damage and dishonour
'shalbe to the Realme of England; or else if we were in
'greate number and shoulde then haue victorie of our ³⁰
'enemies, then our mindes shoulde be prone and readie
'to pride. And then peraduenture we shoulde ascribe our
'victorie rather to our owne streinght then to the hand of God,
'and thereby wee shoulde purchase to ourselues his indignation.

¹ This is incorrect, though adopted by Stow. Livius reads: *munitumque campum . . . duobus lateribus undique vepribus et sepibus*. The flanks of the English army were protected by the woods and enclosures of Agincourt and Tramecourt.

² Sir Walter Hungerford (cf. *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, p. 47), not the Earl of Westmorland as in Shakespeare (*Henry V*, Act iv, sc. 3); Westmorland was not present. Stow omits the story.

‘But be ye of good courage, and fight wth all your might, and
 ‘God and our right shall defend vs, and deliuer into our hands
 ‘all this greate multitude of our proud enemies that yee se, or
 ‘at the least the most part of them.’ The night before this cruell
 battaile, by the aduise and counsell (as it is saide) of¹ the Duke
 of Yorke, the Kinge had geuen commaundement through his
 hoast, that euerie man shoulde provide him a stake sharpe at
 both endes, w^{ch} the Englishmen fixed in the ground before
 them in the fieelde to defend them from the oppression of the
 10 horsemen.² The Frenchmen had so much there confidence in
 the great multitude of their people, in their shyninge armor
 and beauteous, and in their greate and mightie horses, that
 manie of their greate Princes and Lords leauinge behinde them
 their seruants and souldiers, and namely leauinge behind them
 their standards and banners, and other ensignes, came towards
 the Englishmen in right greate hast, as if they had bin assured
 of victorie.³ Amongest whome the Duke of Brabande⁴, w^{ch}
 for hast had left behinde him his banners, tooke from a
 20 trumpet his banner of armes, and commaunded it to bee
 borne before him vppon a speare in steade of his banner.

⁵ And when they approached the English hoast wth that Enguer-
 knightlie dilligence that they might, they briefelie ordered unt.
 their battaile in this manner. Earely in the morninge before
 the battaile, w^{ch} was the ffryday the xxvth daye of October in
 the yeare of our Lord God 1415, the Counstable of Fraunce
 and other wise men of the Kings Councell of Fraunce ordered
 of their companie three battailes, whereof the Auantgard
 contayned vj. thousand Bacints,⁶ foure M. Archers, and xv. C.
 Arbalesters, of whome was the conductor the foresaide Coun-
 30 stable, and wth him the Duke[s] of Orleauce, and of Burbon,
 the Earles of Ewe, and of Richmount, and the Marchall
 Bonycastle,⁷ the M^r of Arbalesters, the Lorde of Damphire⁸
 admirall of Fraunce, and diuers other great captaines and men

¹ by B.

² *This statement is an insertion of the Translator, which was adopted by Stow. The use of the stakes is mentioned by many authorities; the reference to the Duke of York comes from the Brut, pp. 378, 554-5, ed. Brie.*

³ *Stow stops here and does not resume till p. 58 below.*

⁴ Brabant.

⁵ Monstrelet, iii. 103, 104.

⁶ huit mille bacinetz Monstrelet.

⁷ Boucicault.

⁸ Dampierre.

of honour. In the second Battell were appointed as many men of Armes, Archers and Arbalesters as were in the first, of w^{ch} were conductors the Dukes of Barry and Alanson,¹ the Earles of Neuers, of Vaudemont, of Blamont, of Salms, of Grauntiree, and of Rousye.² And in their reward were all the residue of men of armes, archers, and arbalesters, the Earle of Marle, of Damputine, and of Faukenburge,³ and diuers other greate estates and noble capitaines. They ordayned also two winges of horsemen to disseuer and breake the array of the English hoast, wherein were xxiiij. C. horsemen wth such ¹⁰ capitaines as were thought most convenient for the same. And the rather to encourage the harte of the younge lords and gentlemen the Counstable of Fraunce the day and night before this fieelde had made aboue vj. hundred knights of the fieelde and of his hoast.

Titus
Liuius.

⁴ And when they approached, the Frenchmen exceeded so farr the Englishemen in number that of them was xxxj. mens thicknes in euerie part of the fieelde; nor the fieelde, where they fought, suffered not to receaue so greate multitude of people as they were; and the English hoast was scarcely iiij^{or} mens ²⁰ thicknes.

Enguer-
unt.

⁵ At his departure from Harfleet he had in his hoast two thousand men of armes, xiiij. thousand archers, and other men of warr a greate number.

Trans-
lator.

But of this number Enguerunt putteth no certaintie. Howe well the English Cronicle⁶ reciteth that he had at this fieelde but x. thousand men of warr in his hoast; and that seemeth me maruelous that he hauinge xxiiij. thousand men at his commaundement besides all them that weare deade of the flix, and besides the garrison he left at Harefleet, woulde take ³⁰ so smale an hoast wth him, consideringe that he had knowledge tofore his departure from Harefleete of the preparacion that the French made against him. But let euerie man giue credence to whether part he will, and I will returne to my

¹ Bar and Alençon.

² Vaudemont, Blamont, Salms, Grand-Pré, and Roussy.

³ Dammartin and Fauquembergue.

⁴ Livius, p. 17.

⁵ Monstrelet, iii. 95.

⁶ *The Brut*, p. 379, has vij. M.; another version (p. 554) has viij. M.

matter. Howbeit Enguerunt¹ resiteth that the greater part of the English archers were wthout harnes.

² The Frenchmen had also in his hoast manie gunns and engines of diuers quantities and fashions, wherewth they shott and cast stones amonge the English hoast. These two hoasts were distant one from thother scarselie three shotts of a bowe. Titus
Liuius.

The Frenchmen abode in their array wthout moouinge vntill ix. or x. a clocke of the daie, beinge as ascertained that the Englishmen shoulde not escape their hands, seinge howe
 10 they exceed the English hoast in number.³ And when they had stooode longe thus the one against th'other, wthout doeinge anie thinge, sauinge that the horsemen of the French hoast rann dyuers courses vppon the Englishmen, by whose archers they were at all times driuen to their hoast, and that a greate parte of the short daie⁴ was thus passed, the Kinge counselled wth his wise men what was to be done therevppon :
 amongest whome it was considered that longe abidinge in the
 20 realme of his aduersaries, where they had no comfort, was vnto them perilous and shoulde turne to their greate dainger, and namely because they had scarcetie of victualls, and that the Frenchmen beinge in their owne country, where they had no enemies, and also they shoulde daylie increase in number and in streinght. Wherefore it was concluded by them to goe to their enemies, in as much as they came not to them. But before the Kinge remooued his hoast, vppon suretie safelie to returne, came vnto the Kinge three noble men of Fraunce, amonge whome was the Lord Helley,⁶ w^{ch} before time had bine taken of the English souldiars, and was brought as a prisoner into England, from whence by breakinge of prison
 30 he secretlie escaped and returned into Fraunce.⁷ This Lord spake vnto the Kinge in this manner: ' Noble Kinge, it hath
 ' often bin shewed vnto me, and also to others of our realme,
 ' that I shoulde fly from you shamefully and otherwise then
 ' a knight shoulde doe, w^{ch} report I ame heare readie to proue

¹ *Monstrelet*, iii. 106.

² *Livius*, pp. 17-20.

³ *This sentence is inserted by the Translator from Monstrelet*, iii. 104.

⁴ *The scribe first wrote the daie (beinge short).* ⁵ his *B.*

⁶ Jacques de Helley, cf. 44th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, p. 584.

⁷ *qui captus olim a stipendiariis Anglicis ex Anglia postea fugerat Livius.*

'vntrue. And if there be any man of your hoast hardy to
 'reproch me thereof, lett him prepare him to a single battaile.
 'And I shall proue it vppon him before thie Mat^{ie}, that
 'wrongefullie that report hath bine imagined and furnished of
 'me.' To whome the Kinge made this aunswere: 'No
 'battaile shalbe heere foughten at this time for this cause,
 'another time shalbe thereto more convenient then this.
 'Therefore returne you and call foorth your company¹ to the
 'fielde, before the night approach. And we trust in God, that
 'like as you hauinge no regard to the order of honnor of knight-¹⁰
 'hood, escaped from vs, so this [day]² ye shall either be taken
 'and brought to vs againe, or else by the sworde you shall
 'fynish your life.' 'Noble Kinge,' saide the Lorde, 'for you I
 'shall not warne my companie, nor they shall in nothinge
 'attempt your commaundement. Both we and you³ wth your
 'hoast be wthin the hande of the most Christian Kinge of
 'Fraunce, Charles, to whose commaundement we shall obey
 'and not to yours.⁴ And we that be his liegis shall come to
 'battaile at our owne pleasure and not at yours.' 'Depart
 'you from hence,' saide the Kinge, 'to your hoast, and we²⁰
 'beleue you shall not returne wth so full speed, but we shalbe
 'theire shortly after you.' Then these Lords departed. ⁵ And
 the Kinge foorthwth aduauced his banners and standards to
 the French hoast. And he in his person, wth his ⁶ battaile in
 the same order wherein they stooode⁷ followinge, exhorted and
 encouraged euerie man to battaile, notwthstandinge he went
 to inuade his enemies; yet [he]⁸ kept his accustomed order:
 that is, that the first battaile went before, the second battaile
 followed, and the third came immediatlie after. He com-
 maunded his priestes and chaplaines⁹ to abide in prayers and ³⁰
 diuine supplicacions; and his Harrolds bearinge their coate
 armors to attaine¹⁰ to their offices. Then euery Englishman
 fell prostrate to the ground, and committinge themselues to

¹ tuosque verbis nostris . . . evoca *Livius*.

² *om. MSS.*; hodie *Livius*. ³ your *B.*

⁴ Sedemus omnes et tu cum exercitu quoque tuo in terris supremi
 Gallorum principis regis Karoli *Livius*.

⁵ *Stow now resumes.* ⁶ this *B.*; suis *Livius*.

⁷ he stooode *MSS.*; steterant *Livius*. ⁸ *om. MSS.*

⁹ captaines *MSS.*; capellanisque *Livius*; *Stow omits* and chaplaines.

¹⁰ attend *Stow*; ad eorum officium attentissimis, *Livius*.

God, euerie one of them tooke in his mouth a little peece of earth, in remembraunce of that they were mortall and earth, or else in remembraunce of the wholie Communion.¹ Thus all the carriages and bagages left behinde, only charged wth their harnes, weapons, and stalfes² they marched toward their enemies wth greate bruite and noyse. Then they began to sounde their trumpets and their tabors,³ w^{ch} greatlie encouraged the hart of euerie man. There enemies seeinge them approach aduaunced themselves also, and mett wth them
 10 in the felde, betwext whome was began a maruelous fierce and cruell battell. The battells of the Englishmen were as longe as the felde, wherein they fought, woulde suffer; w^{ch} was greatly to their aduantage, for by that their enemies were letted to come vppon them at the sides and backe of the hoast.⁴ The Frenchmen had ordayned their battailes wth two sharpe frontes like vnto two hornes, w^{ch} allwaies backe ward was brodar;⁵ and these sharpe battailes sett vppon the Kings middleward, in intent to runn thorough the Kings⁶ felde.
⁷ The order and array of the English had bin sore troubled
 20 of the horsemen of Fraunce, if they had not bin slaine, beaten, and wounded by the bows of Englande,⁸ and by the helpe of the stakes that the Englishmen had fixed tofore them in the grounde, whereby the horsemen were constrained to returne, or else they must runn vppon the stakes, where manie of them were ouerthrowne and wounded, and manie both men and horses slayne. The battaile and fight increased maruelouslie; euerie man inforced him to be a victor by the space of three howers, by w^{ch} time wthout delay or respite endured this mortall battaile; no man approached the place of the battell,
 30 but either he must slay or else he was slayne. There no man intendede to prowes, but to victorie; no man was taken

¹ *From* in remembraunce is an insertion by the Translator; *Stow* adopts, but reads: mortall, and made of earth, as also in remembrance of the holy communion.

² stakes *H.*, and *Stow*.

³ They sounded their trumpets and strooke up their drums *Stow*; *Livius* has simply *tubicinum clangor maximus . . . excitat*.

⁴ w^{ch} was . . . hoast, an insertion of the Translator, adopted by *Stow*.

⁵ broader and broader *Stow*. ⁶ whole *Stow*.

⁷⁻⁸ but the Frenchmen were slaine and wounded by the English archers *Stow*; the text above reproduces *Livius* more closely.

prisoner, but an innumerable were slayne. And when it came to the middle of the felde the Englishmen were more encouraged to slaye there enemies then tofore, as to whome was no trust of life but only in victorie. They slewe them that came first vnto them, vppon whose deade bodies [an]¹ innumerable companie were [throwne and]¹ slayne, and that the victorie surelie remayned to the Englishmen. Thus after a longe and cruell battaile by the demerits of theire greate pride there approached no man [of the French]² to battaile, but only to death: of whom, after that an innumerable companie were¹⁰ slayne, and that the victorie surelie remayned to the Englishmen, they spared to slaye and tooke prisoners of the Frenchmen both Princes, Lords, and gentlemen [in great number].³ In this mortall battaile the noble Kinge neuer spared his body from labour, from perrills, nor from fightinge; nor he neuer fayled his men for no dainger of death, nor for no paine; but he fought wth his aduersaries wth an ardent hart as a famyshed⁴ lyon for his pray; in his helmet and in the residewe of his armour he receaued many strookes. In this felde as the puissant Duke Humphrie, Duke of Gloucester, the²⁰ Kings brother, fought wth greate courage and force, he was sore wounded in the hammes wth a [sworde, and]⁵ ouerthrowne, [in so much as]⁶ he laye as halfe deade in the field, his heade towards the Englishmen, and his feet towards his enemies, vppon whome the Kinge hauinge brotherly loue and compassion bestrid him: and wth most stronge battell and laboure, and not wthout his owne great perill, the brother defended and succored the brother from there enemies, and made the Duke to be borne out of the felde amongst the hands of his owne men. At the last the victorie obtayned,³⁰ and the greate hoast of the Frenchmen slayne, taken, wounded

¹ *om. MSS.; Stow reads: no man was taken prisoner, but an innumerable number were slaine, vppon whose dead bodies they that followed were throwne and slaine. The Translator does not seem to have fully revised his text, which is an ornate expansion of the very terse original in Livius, pp. 19, 20.*

² *om. MSS.; restored from Stow; nullus e Gallis Livius.*

³ *om. MSS.; restored from Stow.*

⁴ *invictus or jubatus in the printed Livius; famished Stow.*

⁵ *Blank in MSS.; restored from Stow.*

⁶ *om. MSS.; restored from Stow.*

and vanquished, foorth wth another hoast of the Frenchmen, no lesse then the first, supposinge the Englishmen nowe to be wearied by theire longe trauell and fight, disposed them to recommence and begin againe the battaile anewe; when the Englishmen (w^{ch} had more prisoners then themselues were in number) sawe this newe felde assembled to giue them battaile againe, fearinge least in this newe felde they shoulde fight both with theire prisoners, and theire enemies, they put to death manie of there saide enemies prisoners both Noble men
 10 and richmen.

¹ Amongest whome the Duke of Brabande, who at that
 felde was taken prisoner, was slaine. Poli-
cronicon.

² Then this noble prudent Kinge, consideringe and seinge Titus
Liuius. the resemblaunce ³ of his aduersaries, sent his Herraulds vnto them commaundinge either foorth wth to come to battaile, or else imediatly to depart; and if they delayed to depart, or else if they came to battaile, both those of theires that then were prisoners, and also all they that shoulde after be taken, wthout mercie or redemption shoulde be put to death. All this he
 20 gaue in messuage to his Heraulds, w^{ch} messuage when the Frenchmen had hearde fearinge the streinght of the Englishmen, and also the death both of themselues, and also of those prisoners that were taken before one there partie, wth heauines and wth shame they departed foorthwth. Then the Kinge, assured of this greate victorie, gaue the greatest thanks and laude to God that might be. And because that day the Church solemnized the commemoration of S^t Chrispine and S^t Chrispiane, ⁴ (by whose suffrages it seemed him that this great victorie was geuen him of God) he ordayned duringe his
 30 life the commemoracion of them to be saide daily in Masse he heard.⁵ In this cruell battell were slaine on the French part the noble dukes of Alannson and Barrie,⁶ and of Brabant, and the Lord Helly, who, as is aforesaide, came tofore the battaile to purge himself before the Kinge of his escape out of Englande.

¹ *Policronicon*, p. 227. ² *Livius*, pp. 20, 21. ³ resemble *Stow*.

⁴ SS. Crispin and Crispinian.

⁵ *B. is punctuated* Masse. He heard in, &c. *Livius reads*: in missa quam audiret eorundem beatorum commemoratio fieret. Hoc in praelio &c. *Stow omits the sentence.*

⁶ Alençon and Bar.

- Enguer- ¹ The Lorde Labret,² chiefe Counstable of Fraunce, the
Archbisshopp of Saunce,³ eight Earles, and one hundred and
more of Barrons, xv. C. knights, and aboue tenn thousand of
all estates, whereof were not scarslie xv. C. persons that were
souldiards, seruants, or varletts, besides this great number.
And all the rest were gentlemen of Coate Armor.
- Titus ⁴ At this battaile besides this greate murther were taken
Liuius. prisoners of the Frenchmen the Duke of Orleauce, and of
Brabant,⁵ Arthur, brother to the Duke of Brittain,⁶ the Earle
Enguer- of Vandosme, the Earle of Ewe, the Earle of Richmount,⁷ ¹⁰
unt. and S^r Bannicault,⁸ marshall of Fraunce, who was brought
prisoner into England and theire dyed.
- Titus ⁹ And many other men were taken prisoners vnto the
Liuius. number of xv. C. persons, all knights and gentlemen. And
of the English partie were slayne the Duke of Yorke, the
Earle of Suffolke, and to the number of an hundred persons
in the vauntgarde.
- Enguer- ¹⁰ And of all estats as well of gentlemen as of commons on
unt. the English partie were not founde deade aboue sixe hundred
in the felde. ²⁰
- Titus ¹¹ When the day began to declyne and the night approach,
Liuius. by the aduise of his Councell that victorious Kinge retourned
wth his hoast into that village, wherein they harbored the
night before the felde, where he founde his horses and other
baggage and carriages that he left there tofore the felde,
stollen and carryed away by robbers of the Frenchmen.
- Enguer- ¹² Where amongst manie other jewells of greate price was
unt. stollen away a sworde of greate vallewe, adorned wth goulde
and precious stones, w^{ch} after was geuen to Phillipp, Earle of
Charoloyse, sonn and heire to Burgoyne. ³⁰
- Titus ¹³ The same daye of the felde at night, when the Kinge sat
Liuius. at his refection in the aforesaide village, he was serued at his
boord of these greate Lords and Princes that were taken in

¹ *Monstrelet*, iii. 112-19.² Charles d'Albret.³ Sens.⁴ *Livius*, p. 21.⁵ *A mistake for Bourbon.*⁶ *sc.* Arthur of Brittany.⁷ *Monstrelet*, iii. 120.⁸ Boucicault.⁹ *Livius*, p. 21; *Stow inserts another list from the Liber Metricus of Elmham (Memorials of Henry VI, p. 123).*¹⁰ *Monstrelet*, iii. 110.¹¹ *Livius*, p. 21.¹² *Monstrelet*, iii. 110.¹³ *Livius*, p. 21.

the felde. That night the Kinge appointed good and sure watches thoroughout his hoast for feare of suddaine inuasions.¹ But the Frenchmen were vtterly deuided and gone, wthout makinge or intendinge any newe busines; whereby the Englishmen were suffered in peace to take there rest that night. And the day next ensewinge the Kinge wth his people entered his journey towards Callis; and as they passed thorough the felde where they had foughten the day before, they founde all the dead bodies of the men dispoyled as well
10 of there harnes as of there array by th'inhabitaunts of the countrie both men and weomen. Notwthstandinge, the bodies that might be knowne for Englishmen that were of any reputation, the Kinge caused to be assembled and enterred accordinge to there estate.² And so contynewinge his journey the Kinge came to his Castell of Guynes, and from thence he went to his Towne of Callis, wth all his hoast and his prisoners, where he was receaued of his liegemen wth greate joy and wth all due honnor. And after that his hoast was somethinge refreshed wth meate, drinke & sleepe, the Kinge councelled
20 wth his counsellors if he should nowe retourne into Fraunce and pursue his enterprise begun, or else returne wth his hoast into England and refresh his people. Amongest whome it was considered that the number of his people was right smale, and of them that were left many were troubled wth the disease of the fluxe, and manie so griued of those woundes that they had receaued at the felde. They considered also that longe abidinge at Callis shoulde cause penury of victualles amongst his hoast. And on the other partie in there owne countrie the people shoulde at there ease haue refresshed them, and
30 cure them of there diseases and woundes. They also considered that the time hitherto had not bin vnfortunate to them: but that wth there honnour they might returne wth there gaine that they had conquered and gotten. They trusted also that the aide of God was not wthdrawen from them, but that to his pleasure the Kinge shoulde right well obtaine his desire in time to come. For w^{ch} consideracion the

¹ *These two sentences are an insertion.*

² *As well . . . there estate an interpolation by the Translator, but adopted by Stow.*

minds of all his Councillors were condescended and agreed vppon there retourne into England, thereby to reioyce the harts of the people, where also they might refresh there bodies, and recouer themselues of there diseases and wounds. Then wth all dilligence the nauie was prepared for there returne. And by the Kings commaundement the Lords and greate estats of the prisonners of Fraunce vnto a greate number were brought into that shipp wherein the King was, and ¹ determined to passe the seas.²

Enguer-
unt.

³ At this passage the sea was maruelous boysterous and ¹⁰ roughe, in so much as two of the English shippes were perished in the floudes.

Titus
Liuus.

⁴ By reason whereof the French prisoners were so incombred and vexed that this day of there passage seemed them as bitter and tirrible, as that daye wherein they were taken at Agincourt; nor I coulde not maruaile inoughe ⁵ howe the Kinge shoulde haue so greate strength, so easelie to resist and indure the rage and boysterous of the sea, wthout accombrance and disease of his stomacke, for vndoubtedly his stomake was as good and as whole vppon the sea as when he ²⁰ was vppon the lande. When the Kinge had passed the sea, and was come to arriue and take land at Douer, innumerable people of religion, of priests, and noble men, and ⁶ of the commons came runninge to meet the Kinge in euerie way; and so greate was the loue they had to the Kinge, and so much the desire of his returne, that a right greate number of them went into the water vppon there feet vntill they came vnto the Kings shippes, purposinge to beare him to the lande in their armes. When the Kinge was arriued, he abode⁷ at Douer by certaine daies to refresh and rest his Lords ³⁰ and prisoners after his troublous passage, and from thence he

¹ and *om.* *Stow.*

² *This passage is a free expansion of Livius; Stow adopts it with some slight variation.*

³ *Monstrelet*, iii. 125.

⁴ *Livius*, p. 22.

⁵ *Nec mirari satis poterant Livius; the Translator expands the rest of the sentence freely; Stow reads they coulde not maruel, but otherwise follows the Translator.*

⁶ and *om. B.*; *nobiles et ignobiles Livius.*

⁷ he abode *om. B.*; *Mansit hic aliquot dies Livius; Stow reads: when he was arriued on the 23 day of Nouember, he abode at Douer by certaine dayes.*

departed takinge his journey towards the Cittie of London ; and of the cittizens whereof were made greater feasts and greater appeales in honnor of the Kinge then of any other of the commons, as they that were of greater substaunce and riches then the inhabitants of any other towne¹ or Cittie of the Realme. The Mayor of the Cittie and Aldermen wth all [the people]² of the same went out of the Cittie vnto the Kings meetinge. And the gates and streets of the Cittie were garnished and apparrelled wth precious clothes of Arras, containinge the Victories, Tryumphes, and Princely Acts of the Kinge of Englande his progenitors,³ w^{ch} was done to the order that the Kinge might evedentlie see, what remembraunce his people woulde leaue to there posterities and successors of this his greate victorie and tryumphe. The Cunditts thorough all the Cittie runn no other but good and sweet wynes, and that abundantly. There was also made in the streets small towers and turrets, and many stages adorned and couered wth rich and precious cloathes, and vppon the hight of them satt smale children apparrelled in the semblance of Angels,⁴ wth sweet toned voyces, wth singings, prayings, and songs and laude. But that victorious and goodly Kinge suffered not those honnours to be referred vnto him, but to the laude and honnour of God ; neither, as is vsed amongst them that bene elect in pride, he shewed not to the people his helmet, wherevppon his Crowne of goulde was broken and depeased⁵ in the fiele by the vyolence of the enemie, and greate strokes that he there receaued, nor his other armour that in that cruell battell was so sore torne and broken. But as the faithfull and constant Champion of God, that wth no blasts of wynde is mooued from his former virtues, he eschewed all occasions of vaine glory, and refused the vaine prayings of the people.⁶ After this feast and tryumphe he abode certain dayes at London ; and after he visited certain places of his Realme to see and further the equall ministracion of

¹ towne *om. B.*; the last part of the sentence is an addition by the Translator; Stow omits the whole sentence.

² *om. MSS.*: et omni populo *Livius*; Aldermen and crafts *Stow*.

³ *praedecessorum regum Angliae Livius*.

⁴ *deposed Stow*.

⁵ This sentence is an interpolation by the Translator; Stow adopts it in an abbreviated form. But from this point he makes no use either of *Livius* or the Translator till p. 76.

Justice. In w^{ch} places he was receaued wth greate honnor and joy. In the meane time the victorious Emperour of Roome, Sigismundus, hearinge the discention and mortall warr betwext these two Realmes of England and of Fraunce, and seakinge the reformation thereof, sent his Ambassadors tofore to both Realmes. And after he came in his owne person into Fraunce, where he was receaued wth all due honnour; and there amongst the greate rulers and princes of the Realme he mooued for a peace to be made betwext them and the Kinge of England. Wherevppon, after manie 10 aduertisements and exhortacions geuen to them by the Emperor, the Frenchmen condiscended to send wth the Emperor theire¹ orators into England, of whome the Archbisshoppe of Rheynes² was deputed as chiefe and principall. Then this noble Emperor, accompanied of those Ambassadors of Fraunce, departed from Parris, and tooke journey towards England untill he came to Beauvais, where he abode and kept the solemnitie of Easter.

Enguer-
unt.

³ And from thence after Easter he reprised his Journey begann; this Emperor rodd all armed sauinge his helmet 20 hauinge a cappe of Monnabayne⁴ hanginge at the arsone⁵ of his saddle, and aboue his armor he was clothed wth a rich huke⁶ wherein was a plaine crosse tofore and behinde of the culler of redd,⁷ wherevppon was written in French this poseye, *O what God is mercifull*⁸; and in like manner were the most part of his companie apparrelled and armed, and mounted vppon greate light horses.

Titus
Liuius.
Regni 4.
1416.

⁹ In the beginninge of the fourth yeare of the raigne of this most victorious Kinge of Englande, after the Kinge was aduertised of the Emperor's comminge, he sent to Callis, where 30 the Emperour shoulde enter the sea, six Princes and greate Lordes, and there to meete and to receaue the Emperor, and

¹ the B. ² Rheims; Rhegues B.; Remensis *Livius*.

³ *Monstrelet*, iii. 136, 137; whence also comes the last sentence of the previous paragraph.

⁴ Monnabayne *om. B.*; un chapeau de Montauban *Monstrelet*.

⁵ l'arçon de sa selle (*saddle-bow*).

⁶ huke *om. B.*; une noire heucque *Monstrelet*.

⁷ cendre (*ash-coloured*) *Monstrelet*.

⁸ O que Dieu tout puissant est misericors! *Monstrelet*.

⁹ *Livius*, p. 23.

to feaste and to lodge him there wth much honnor and magnificence due to so greate a Prince ; w^{ch} Lordes, and wth them the Earle of Warwicke, Captaine of Callis, endeauoringe them to doe all the pleasure they coulede, not onely to the Emperor but also to the least of the companie. The Emperor was accompanied of the Duke of Brye, the Duke of Millane, the greate Earle of Hungarie,¹ and manie other greate and noble Princes of estates, and of other people to the number of a thousand horsses, w^{ch} all was maruelously feasted at Callis, at
 10 the only cost of the Kinge of Englande, by whose Commaundement for the Emperor's passage was sent to Callis thirtie² greate shippes. Then the Emperor wth all his companie assended the sea. And in brieft time w^{thout} any disease or trouble they arriued prosperously at Douer, where they were receaued of the Duke of Glocester and other greate Lordes and states of Englande.³

But at the proachinge first to the lande and tofore they
 arriued (as I haue heard the tofore rehersed The Honorable
 Earle of Ormonde saye that he hearde of credible reporte) the
 20 Duke of Glowcester, and all the other estats of England that
 were present, went into the water against the Emperor, wth
 their swordes drawn in there handes, and by the mouth of
 the saide Duke they saide vnto him : That if they intended to
 enter the lande as the Kings friends, and as a mediator to in-
 treat for the peace, he shoulde be suffered to arryue, and if
 he woulde enter as an Emperor, as into a Realme as vnder his
 Empire, or any thinge of his Imperiall power therein to com-
 maunde, they were ready to resist his entrie in the Kings name.
 And this was thus deuised for sauinge of the Kings Imperiall
 30 Maiestie, w^{ch} is an Emperor wth in his Realme. And when the
 Emperor had aunswered that he came as the Kings friend, as
 for a mediator of peace, and not as an Emperor of this Realme :
 then the Duke wth all his Lordes went out of the water and

Trans-
 lator.
 Verba
 Comitiss
 Ormound.

¹ *Livius* has a blank for of Millane ; *Hearne* in a note quotes the above from *Libri Anglici*. The three lords were Louis, Duke of Brieg, Giancarlo Visconti, and Nicholas de Gara 'Hungarie magnus comes Palatinus'. Cf. *Chronicles of London*, pp. 124, 306.

² trecentae *Livius*.

³ a regiae stirpis Anglicis Principibus et aliis regni primoribus suscipiuntur *Livius*.

receaued the Emperor wth the most honnor he coulde, and that might he deuise.¹

Titus
Liuius.

²After the Emperor had a fewē daies sojournied at Douer, he departed thence, and entred his journey towards London. In w^{ch} journey Lords, knights and gentlemen daily came into there meetinge. And the 7th day of Maye the Mayor of London, the Aldermen and commons in good array mett wth the Emperor at the Blacke heath, from whence they conueyed him vnto the Suberbs of London, where that most noble kinge Henrie the Fiftē in royall apparrell accompanied wth his 10 bretheren the Dukes of Clarence and of Bedforde,³ and other greate princes and lords of his blood royall receaued the Emperor in the most honnorable manner that in tofore time had not bine vsed and seene. At w^{ch} meetinge betwext the Emperor and the Kinge were vsed goodly manners and due salutations, and like manner was⁴ done betwext the other great Princes and Lords on both sides. Then they came in company together into the Cittie, wherein was so greate con- course of people, w^{ch} were assembled to se this strainge Kinge, that wth right greate labour skarsely might be made way for 20 these noble Princes thorough the streets. In this manner they rodd thorough the Cittie vnto Powles Church, where they offered. And from thence they went to Westminster to the Kinges Pallace, where if anie thinge coulde be thought neces- sarie for the feastinge of so honnorable a Prince, it was pre- pared to this strainge Kinge in the best manner. After in fewe dayes of repose this Emperor Sigismonde entered com- municacion touchinge this Peace, wherevpon the Kinge tooke deliberacion wth his Councill. And after the aduise taken in eschewingē so manie discriimes⁵ and harmes, as commeth of 30 bataille, he made this offer to the French Legats. That if they would deliuer vnto him such his iust inhabitants as were Kinge Edward the Thirdes, wth that he had conquered wth so greate perrill and dainger, he woulde then leaue his warr and assure them of peace. But this offer the Frenchmen refused;

¹ *Holinshed*, iii. 85. See *Introduction*, p. xxxiii.

² *Liuius*, pp. 23-8.

³ Clarenciae, Bedfordiae et Gloucestriae *Liuius*.

⁴ was not *B.* The clause does not appear in *Liuius*.

⁵ discrimina belli *Liuius*.

sayinge: though that hitherto all things had fortunèd to the Kings pleasure, yet in time comminge he must submitt himself to the fortunes that shall fall, and in one short hower he shalbe in dainger to loose all that he hath gotten before wth so greate losse, laboure, and payne. And thus wth obstinat mynds, the peace vnassured, the French Legats returned into there country. At whose departure the Emperor and the Kinge conversed together wth greate familiaritie and loue. In so much that the Emperor desired to be admitted in the order
 10 of the Garter, whose request was accomplished and he admitted a brother of the order. Whilest these things were thus done in England, the Frenchmen, not a little impatient at the losse and shame that they late had sustayned, in purpose thereof to be reuenged, assembled them a greate number to assiege Harefleet, of w^{ch} companie the Earle of Arminake,¹ Connstable of Fraunce, was chieftaine. They first inclosed the Towne by land from all issues on that partie, and yet not therewth contented they hyred for there money greate carricks
 20 of Gene to enclose the entrie of the ryuer of Seene, w^{ch} is the mouth of the hauen of Harefleet. And thus in short time they inclosed the Towne one all parties, as well by water as by land. So that to the Englishmen were left no issue out of the Towne. Then the Earle of Dorset, captaine of the Towne, sent knowledge of this assiege and of there perrill, and also of there skarcitie of meate and drinke; whereof when the Kinge was ascertained he prepared a greate Nauie of Shippes furnished wth men of warr, as well for the seas as for the lande, and was determinèd to goe in his owne person to dissolue the siege. But the Emperor discourcelled him from that, sayinge
 30 that the Kinge, in whome the common wealth resteth, ought not so lightlie to submitt himself to euerie perrill; and thereto he added sayinge, that the assiege might as well be dissolued of some of his princes by his commaundment as by himself. The Kinge, willinge to obey the counsell of the Emperor, constituted leader of that Nauie John his brother, Duke of Bedforde, and gaue him in charge, first to dissolue the siege vpon the sea.² When this noble Prince had assended the

¹ Bernard, Count of Armagnac.

² ad maritimam obsidionem solvendam *Livius*.

sea wth his armye, a contrarious wynde arose against them, wherewth the nauie was so dryuen that it coulde not enter the haven that the Duke desired, but was constrained to keepe his course nowe heare nowe there, abydinge th' ende of this tempest. Thus sometimes towards Byan,¹ and sometimes towards Cambry,² this nauy was driuen wth the winds ; but at the last day before the vigill of the Assumption of our Ladie, when the tempest was ceased, and the seas appeased, they approached the entry of Seene³ in the beginninge of the night. Then the Duke, perceauinge where he was, commaunded lights to be¹⁰ fixed in his shipp⁴ thereby to gather all the residue of his nauy unto his. And there he determined to abide that night, where all his whole nauy assembled together before day. By some of them it was shewed to the Duke that diuers of there enemies shipp⁵ were not farr from them ; w^{ch} thinge knowen, the Duke called to counsell all the Captaines of the nauy, where they accorded that the next morninge, when the Dukes shipp halled vpp her sayle, all the remnaunt shoulde disanker and followe him. In the morninge, as the day appeared, either navy perceaued⁵ other ; and, when the Englishmen had, their²⁰ ankers drawen, mooued towards there enemies, in like manner there enemies hasted towards them. The English shipp⁶ were soone fastened to the greate carricks, w^{ch} exceeded so much the English shipp⁶ in height, that from the decks of there carricks,⁶ where they stode to fight, they might scarcely reach downewards the highest of the English shipp⁶ wth the longest spare they hadd. They fought cruellie one both parties, but at the last the Englishmen wth manly streinght and wthout feare assended the highe carricks of Gene, w^{ch} they coulde not doe wthout effusion of much blood ; where the battaile was³⁰ more cruell then before, but at the last by there maruelous prowes the English tooke 4 of there greatest carricks wth manie other shipp⁶, and the residue they put to flight. This victorie obtayned, and of there aduersaries manie slayne,

¹ *An error ; Beauchiefe (sc. Beachy Head) Livius.*

² *The Camber, near Rye ; Caumbre Livius.* ³ *Seine.*

⁴ *in praetoria navi (the flagship) Livius.*

⁵ *recaued B. ; classis a classe conspiciuntur ambae Livius.*

⁶ *The Genoese carracks in the French service ; in summis Genuensium ratibus Livius.*

manie sore wounded, and manie drowned in the sea : and the carricke shipp^{wth} many prisoners taken, and the residue discouraged and fledd, amongst whome the greatest carricke of them all escaped, but shee was in that battell so sore brused and beaten wth gunns in her sides, that shee escaped not the perrills of the sea, but foorthwth after her escape shee perished : and this mortall battaile, which indured cruell and bitter by the space of five howers, ended and done, the Duke entered the mouth of the Seene to revictuall the Towne as was his charge,

10 where in the entrie of the haven they founde certaine gallies of Italye,¹ that were left there to encounter the Englishmen. Against whome the Duke sent certaine barges² well manned, w^{ch} incountered the gallies, and put them to flight. Then the Duke came to the Towne of Harefleete wthout any other resistance or impediment, where he was receaued wth greate joye of the Earle of Dorset, the Dukes vnkell, and of all the souldiers of Harefleet. And after a daie of repose the Duke intended to have geuen battaile wth the Frenchmen that besieged the Towne by lande ; but as soone as the knowledge of the dis-

20 comfiture of there people by the sea came to their eares, and that the Duke wth his companie had entered the Towne, they gaue themselues to discourage, and left the assiege wthout battaile³ ; w^{ch} thinge knowne, the Duke, after he had victualled the Towne, entered againe his shipp, and wth those carrick shippes and men that were taken he passed the sea and arriued in England. When the Kinge sawe his brother returne wth so greate victorie, and knowen tofore what sore battaile he had foughten, and howe in everie thinge he had done, gaue greate thanks to the Immortall God. And because this victorie was

30 obtayned vppon the vigill of the Assumption of our Ladie, the Kinge commaunded that euerie daye shoulde be sungen in his Chappell an anthem and a collett of the Assumption of our Ladie, w^{ch} was continuallie vsed duringe his life. When the Kinge of the Romaines, Sigismounde, had evidentlie perceaued that the Frenchmen neither by the iustice of God executed

¹ triremes quas Ytali galeas dicunt *Livius*.

² quas nominant Anglici Barges *Livius*.

³ *This sentence is an insertion by the Translator ; perhaps from a copy of the Brut, cf. Chron. Davies, p. 43 ; Livius' own narrative seems to be derived from a similar source.*

vppon them, neither by his mediation woulde not condescend
 to anie reasonable peace, consideringe that he tofore had
 knowen them elate in like pride against his Empire, and also
 against other Realmes, to the intent that they shoulde knowe
 that theire obstinacie and pride was pleasinge neither to God
 nor to man, considered also the iust true tytle of the Kinge of
 Englande, he delibered to take such part and appointment
 wth the Kinge, as shoulde be acceptable, both to him and to
 all the Realmes of England,¹ and assured the Kinge of faithfull
 and perpetuall allyance and freindlie confederacion, as well of 10
 the oppressinge of the pride of the Frenchmen as for the
 moouinge and reforminge of the Sisme,² w^{ch} then was in the
 Church.³ And this confederacion and allyance was put in
 writinge in the termes as followeth : ‘ Sigismund, by the grace
 ‘ of God Kinge of Romaines, and Henrie, by the same grace
 ‘ Kinge of Englande & Fraunce, wth the heirs and successors
 ‘ of both the Empires and Realmes,⁴ from henceforth for the
 ‘ realme of either of them, of theire lands, dominions, and sub-
 ‘ iects, allwaies shalbe fellows and confederates against the
 ‘ Kings, Lords, Princes, and noble men, and against all that 20
 ‘ shalbe enemies to either Realme of the saide two Kinges;
 ‘ neither of them shalbe in councell wherein the other may
 ‘ loose any part of his streinght, right or Empire, member or
 ‘ bloode. Yf either of them shall knowe the death, preiudice,
 ‘ or harme of th’other to be attempted, sought or conspired of
 ‘ any man, wth all his power he shall lett it ; or if he cannot
 ‘ lett it, as shortlie as shalbe possible he shall giue knowledge
 ‘ to the other ; euerie of them shall support and maintayne the
 ‘ other when time thereto is requisite, shalbe wthout couller,
 ‘ fraude, or preiudice of the raigne, lands, possessions, honnor, 30
 ‘ or subiects of the other ;⁵ or he cannot declyne his subiects
 ‘ from bearinge arms against the other his confederat freinde,
 ‘ he shall imediatly giue warninge thereof to the other Kinge.

¹ foederaque utrique regi gratissima *Livius*.

² sc. Schism.

³ *The scribe first wrote in Christes, as in H.; ecclesiae schisma quod tunc trium pastorum erat Livius.*

⁴ successoribus utriusque imperii *Livius*.

⁵ Regnorum, imperii, terrarum honores et commoda subditorum alter alterius rex cum usus venerit procurato. Neuter horum regum in alterum alteriusve terras et subditos arma infero, nec a subditis suis inferri finito *Livius*.

'And then both the Kings together shall rise in armes, and
 'subdewe those obstinate rebells. All trauellinge men and
 'marchaunts of both Realmes of whatsoeuer Art, Scyence,
 'misterie, or occupation they be, may surelie inhabite, labour,
 'journey, chevish, and buy and sell in all the lands, possessions,
 'and cuntries of the other, payinge there freight and carriage
 'and observinge the customes of the comptrollers wherein they
 'shalbe; so neither of them shall suffer the traytors and
 'banished men of the other knowingly to abide or dwell wthin
 10 'there Realme or lands; or from henceforth neither of these
 'Realmes shall enter into warr wth none other Realme or
 'country that now is not¹ there enemie wthout the assent and
 'councell of the other, except it be for the defence of there
 'Realmes, or else for the resistinge of iniuries. It shalbe law-
 'ful for Kinge Henrie to make warr vppon the Frenchmen for
 'to conquer his Realme of Fraunce. And also it shalbe law-
 'full for Sigismund,² Kinge of Romaines, and Henrie, Kinge
 'of England and of Fraunce, and also they shalbe holden in-
 'violate, vncorrupt and vnbroken by your heires and successors.
 20 'And these things were approued, confirmed, and established
 'the 5 of October, the 4 yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Henrie
 'the Fifthe.'

In this time the Duke of Hollande (to whome it greatly
 belongeth to seeke and procure the peace betwext England,³
 because his daughter was wedded to the Dolphine) arriued
 in England to see the two Kings and there greate magnifi-
 cence, whereof the fame was sprunge maruelouslie honnorable
 in euerie country, and also to doe his part to cease the
 mortall warr that raigned betwext the two Realmes.

30 ⁴ Who at his cominge was right honnorable receaued of the Poli-
 Kinge of England, and of his people, and was lodged at the cronicon.
 Bisshopp of Ely his place in Holborne.

⁵ At the laboure of this Duke and at the instance of the Enguer-
 unt.

¹ not *om. B.*; *alium qui modo non sit hostis Livius.*

² *The scribe has omitted several lines corresponding to: Sigismundo pro iuribus imperii per Gallos injuste detentis arma cum placuerit movere liceto. Quae foedera non minus apud heredes et successores utriusque Sigismundi et Henrici Livius.*

³ *maxime de pace intererat Livius.*

⁴ *Policronicon*, p. 228; *Brut*, p. 381.

⁵ *Monstrelet*, iii. 147.

Emperor was sent into Fraunce the Bisshopp of Norw^{ch} and S^r Thomas Epingham,¹ a knight of greate renowne, accompanied wth 80 horsses,² in Ambassage vnto the French Kings Councell, (w^{ch} then was at Beauvois) to treat for the peace betweene the two realmes; but because the Counstable of Fraunce³ had then laide siege tofore Harefleet, from whence he woulde not depart, the intreatie tooke no effecte, neither for peace, neither for ransome of the French prisoners that were in Englande. And the Ambassadors of England returned into England voyde of there requests.

Titus
Liuius.

⁴ Briefelie after whose retourne the two Kings, Sigismund and Henrie the Fifte, sent a certen Earle of the Romaines, and the Earle of Warwicke and diuers other greate and wise men in Ambassage to the Towne of Lile, to John, the Duke of Burgondie, who them receaued right honnorablie. And notwthstandinge the Lords and estats of his house were apparrelled in mourninge garments for the late death of the Duke of Barry,⁵ vnclie to the saide Duke of Burgony, yet he commaunded greate feaste, playes, and disports to be made to these Lords and to their companie. And after the denounc-²⁰ inge of there message, at the last they accorded that the Duke of Burgonie, at the next October, w^{ch} was in the fift yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Henrie of England,⁶ shoulde come to Callis to the two Kings of Romaines and of England, there amongst them to conlude betwext them a Peace; w^{ch} couenaunts thus made, the noble Lords that were sent in Ambassage returned to the two Kings there masters. Shortlie after whose returne the Kinge of Romaines purveyeth for his returne into his countrie. And Kinge Henrie, w^{ch} studied wth all dilligence to pursue this intreatise wth the Duke of Burgonie,³⁰ (a navy first prepared for there conveyance) went in person wth the Emperour to Callis, accompanied wth many great Princes, Lords, and estats of his Realme; whether also John, Duke of Burgonie came vnto them. But first he was assured both by oath and also by pledges of the Englishmen safely to returne.

¹ Erpingham.

² soixante-dix chevaucheurs *Monstrelet*.

³ Bernard, Count of Armagnac, *who had succeeded Charles d'Albret*.

⁴ *Livius*, p. 28.

⁵ Berry.

⁶ w^{ch} . . . England inserted by the Translator.

¹ The Duke of Glocester was sent to St. Meros ² in hostage Enguer-
for the Duke of Burgonie, where he was receaued right honnor-
unt.
able of the Earle Carolois,³ eldest sonn to the Duke of
Burgoyne.

⁴ The Duke of Burgoyne wth all his companie of Lords, Titus
Gentlemen, servaunts, and horssees were receaued and kept at Liuius.
the proper costs of Kinge Henrie. And first tofore the com-
minge of this Duke the Kinge had caused to be proclaymed
that no man shoulde be so hardy⁵ to sell any thinge to the
10 Burgonians, w^{ch} proceeded of the kings greate magnificence
and bountie to the intent that they shoulde haue what they
woulde desire w^{thout} payinge any money therefore.⁶ But
what comunicacion or conference and allyance was betwext
England and Burgonye: the Duke aunswered that he had not
brought wth him certaine things necessary for to conclude the
peace; wherefore the Kinge of England, w^{ch} perceaued this
excuse only to be made for delaye, and that the Duke intend-
inge to perseuer in his former purpose, commaunded him and
all his companie to depart.⁷ At that time many greate
20 carricks of their enemies presented themselues before the
Hauen of Callis, peradventure against their owne wills by
constraint of the greate tempest that there was of the sea;
against whome issued the English shipps, and though they
were not thereto commaunded, yet wth a manly courage they
fell vppon them, and at the last they were departed by the
greate wynds and outrageous fludds of the sea; whereby they
were compelled to desist of their battaile. And so the English
shipps reentred the hauen, and there enemies continued there
course vppon the sea, w^{thout} the losse of any shipps one
30 either partie. After this Kinge Henry, entred to returne into
England, gaue many greate and rich giiftes to the Emperor
and to all the estats of his companie. And levinge the
Emperor at Callis he returned into England in right greate
perrill for the troublous stormes and tempests that then were

¹ *Monstrelet*, iii. 162.

² Saint Omer.

³ Philippe, Comte de Charolois.

⁴ *Livius*, p. 29.

⁵ hardly *B.*

⁶ w^{ch} . . . therefore an insertion by the Translator.

⁷ *The Translator expands Livius*: Et quoniam non ea quae ad con-
cludendam pacem secum adduxerunt, sed in elatione sua perseverabant,
abire jussi sunt.

on the sea. For feare of w^{ch} tempest the Emperour woulde not aduenture to take the sea. And therefore he sent to the Duke of Burgonie to haue assurance of sure passage thorough Flaunders, and the foure members thereof; whose requeste the Duke denyed not, but he aunswered that it was not his honnour to desire assurance for his passage thorough the 4 members of Flaunders, for because that the Flemings were obedient to himselfe; and so it is not the Emperours honnour to demaunde suretie for his passage of his own subiects. But whilst this was in doeing the tempest ceased, and the 10 Emperour (as for the more suretie) entred the sea and went into Germanie, his owne country, by sea, and left the journey by land. ¹ And the Kinge of England, immediately after his returne from Callis, sent his Legate to Constance, where was kept the generall counsell of the vniuersall Catholique Church, w^{ch} wth all other Legatts, the Emperour there beinge present, studied and labored for the vnitie and peace of our holy mother the Church, and to reforme the Schisme that then was of three Popes. W^{ch} counsell tooke effect in this manner. They first deposed all the Popes by whome the Schisme was 20 contynued, and then they wth the Cardinalls elect into the Papacie the Cardinall of Clumne ² borne at Rome, and was named the ffift Martine, whose Arms were a Piller of Siluer crowned wth a crowne of golde, in the felde of Guiles.³

Enguer-
unt.

Titus
Liuius.

⁴ At this counsell by the assent of all nations there present it was authorised and ordayned, that England shoulde obtaine the name of the deuocion of the Church of Roome, and shoulde be saide one of the fyue Nations that owe deuocion; ⁵ w^{ch} thinge vntill that time men of other Nations for envye had delayed and letted.

30

Poli-
cronicon.

⁶ The Kinge pretendinge to pursue his warr in Fraunce made greate preparations for the contynuance of the same; and that yeare, w^{ch} was the 4th yeare of his raigne he helde his Parliament wth the greate estates and nobles of his realme;

Here Stow begins again to use the Translator.

² sc. Odo de Colonna; of the Columpne H.; Columpne Stow.

³ Monstrelet, iii. 189.

⁴ Livius, p. 30.

⁵ ut Anglia nationis nomen obtineret, et una diceretur ex quinque quae devotionem praestant Romano pontifici Livius; should obtaine the name of a nation, and should be saide Stow.

⁶ Policronicon, p. 228.

wherein for the maintenaunce of his saide warr were graunted vnto him a whole Fifteene and Disme.

¹ The same yeare also an Earle of Scotland, called Douglas, Titus Liuius. came into England and promised friendshipp and amytye wth the Kinge, and the same he assured both by oath and by his writinge sealed wth his seale. He returned to the Frenchmen at the battaile that was foughten by the Duke of Bedforde at Vernuell.² In the fift yeare of his raigne in the time of winter this most victorious Kinge purveyed his battaile. He prepared his nauy, his ordynaunce, victualls for his people, and generally all other things necessary and behovefull for warr.³ He assembled thoroughe all England such men, aswell Dukes,⁴ Earles, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen and Commons, as he knewe were good both for Warr and for Peace. And this done, vppon S^t Marks day the Evangelist⁵ he tooke his journey towards Southampton in purpose when the wynde and sea were fauorable to goe into Fraunce.

⁶ But before his departure he rode throughe the Cittie of London vntill he came vnto S^t Paules Church, where he cronicon. discended from his horse and offered. And in like manner he made his oblations at S^t Georges church in Southwarke; and in all this way he gaue his farewell to euery man, prayinge them all to pray to God for him.

⁷ In this meantime the Frenchmen, not content wth there Titus Liuius. owne strenght, made couenaunt wth the Cittie of Gene,⁸ a Cittie of Italy. In wth couenaunt the Italyans were bounde, at a certen price for euerie carrick lymited for the Frenchmens monny, to prepare and furnish wth armed men, as many of there greatest carricks as the Frenchmen shoulde desire. And so prepared they shoulde send them in the ayde of the Frenchmen against the Englishmen. Then imediatly manie

¹ *Liuius*, p. 30.

² Postea tamen contra iusjurandum perjurus ad hostes Gallos profectus, post mortem Henrici regis in proelio quod gestum est apud Vermilam pugnans ab Anglis interficitur *Liuius*; yet notwithstanding he after turned *Stow*. *Liuius follows the Brut in Chron. Davies*, p. 44.

³ *Liuius has simply*: dilectum validissimum habet, classem parat.

⁴ dilectis ex omni Anglia Principibus *Liuius*; all England *om. B.*; *the Translator expands from the Brut*.

⁵ The date (25th April) is inserted by the Translator from the *Brut*, p. 382.

⁷ *Liuius*, pp. 30-3.

⁶ *Brut*, p. 382; not given in *Policronicon*.
⁸ Genoa.

of the carricks of Gene were apparrelled for battaile, amongst whome were manie of maruelous greatnes, and ¹ greater then euer were seene in those parts before this time. These carricks sayled into Fraunce, into the mouth of the Seene, where they straightly assieged Harefleet by water. Whereof when the Kinge of England was aduertized, he delibered to goe vnto them in his owne person to remooue them from this assiege. But from that purpose he was lettred by the aduise of his Councill. Wherefore he gaue that journey to the right puissant John, Earle of Huntingdon, who, when he was ¹⁰ entered into his shipp, and all his companie into there navy, departed from the lande. To whome the wynde was so fauorable that in short time they were brought vnto there enemies; w^{ch}, after they had perceaued the Englishmen, deferred not the battaile, but hasted them to the battaile to the English navy. Then either assayled ² other by greate vigore and strenght. The shippes were fastened together with chaynes and cables. They fought ³ together the more part of a sommers day, either partie sore desiringe to have victorie of his aduersarie.⁴ But at the last the Italians, oppressed by the streight ²⁰ of the Englishmen, were vtterly discomfited and ouerthrowne; their greatest carricks were taken and also the greatest part of them: and the residewe of the Genowaies seeinge there fellows taken and slayne, were strocken wth feare; and there chaynes & cables broken and hewen in sunder, they departed there carricks from the English shippes, and escaped by the helpe of the wynde and storme. When this victory was obtayned, and many of the greatest carricks taken, wth innumerable prisoners, and the residewe chased and put to flight, this noble Earle returned to Hampton; of whose returne when the Kinge was ³⁰ aduertised, he gaue laude and praisinge for this victory vnto God. And for the same he enhaunced the Earle his Nephew ⁵ wth honnor and also wth rewards.⁶ After the joyous returne of

¹ yea *Stow*.

² their enemies, who assailed *Stow*.

³ Their shippes were graped, and fought *Stow*.

⁴ either . . . aduersarie *om. Stow*; this is an insertion of the Translator.

⁵ *sobrinum ejus Livius*; Nephew *Stow*. *Huntingdon was son of the King's aunt Elizabeth.*

⁶ *Stow inserts a supplementary note from the Chronicle of London, p. 106 (ed. Nicolas and Tyrrel).*

this victorious Earle to Hampton, the 28th day of July, this puissant Kinge (a Navy for there conueyaunce first prepared, as is aforesaide, to the number of xv. C. shippes) assembled his army to passe the sea. Of his owne companie and purueyaunce, xvj. thousand foure hundred armed men.¹ And besides that number came to him to Douer, lords and gentlemen wth theire retayners, at the day and place for the same prefixed. First the Duke of Clarence wth 240 speares and 620² archers in his retynewe. And the Duke of Glocester wth 100 speares
 10 and 300 archers. And 6 Earles wth 470 speares, and 1420³ archers, whose names seriouslie hereafter ensewe. First the Earle of Marche 100 speares and 400⁴ archers. The Earle of Warwicke 100 speares and 300 archers. The Earle of Huntingdon 40 speares and 120 archers. The Earle of Suffolke 30 speares and 90 archers. And the Earle of Salisburie 100 speares and 300 archers.⁵ And after these Earles followed 13 other estates of the Realme, wth 506 speares and 1580 archers. That is to saie: the Lord Burgauenie 50 speares and 150⁶ archers; the Lord Matrauers 40 speares and 120
 20 archers; the Lord Fitzhughe 60 speares and 180 archers; the Lord Clifford 50 speares and 150 archers; the Lord Gray 60 speares and 180 archers; the Lord Willoughbie 40 speares and 120 archers; the Lord Talbott 100 speares and 300 archers; the Lorde Edward Courtey⁷ 20⁸ speares and 90 archers; the Lord Bouchier 30 speares and 90 archers; the Lord Rosse 10 speares and 30 archers; the Lord Louell 6 speares and 18 archers; the Lord Ferris of Chartley⁹ 20 speares and 60 archers; and the Lord Harrington 30 speares and 90 archers. After these came 87¹⁰ knights right
 30 noble and vallyant men, and in theire retynewe 900 speares

¹ *The Translator (followed by Stow) is in error; Livius clearly means this for the number of the whole army, and not for the King's personal contingent alone.*

² 720 Stow; the MSS. of Livius vary between sexcentis and septingentis.

³ mille quadringentis et decem Livius; 1410 Stow.

⁴ 300 Stow; trecentos Livius.

⁵ *The Translator omits Comes Marescallus lanceas centum, sagittarios trecentos. So also does Stow.*

⁶ centum et viginti Livius.

⁷ Courtney.

⁸ triginta Livius.

⁹ Esmon Ferrers de Chartley Livius.

¹⁰ septem et septuaginta, or septem et octoginta variously in Livius.

and 2852 [archers],¹ whose names my Author rehearsed not. Of carpenters and other artificers the King had wth him in his wages to the number of 1000, whose ministeries or occupations it were superfluous here to write. But vndoubtedly there was no manner of occupation or crafte absent from that hoast, that coulde be thought necessarie for them. Neither Myners to vndermyne the grounde, Carpenters to make and rayse engins, laborers to delve the grounde, and to lade ditches, Masons to hewe stones for shott to breake walls, to subuert strong holdes, nor gunners to shutt gunnes; nor briefly 10 to accompt there fayled them no manner of occupation or scyence that coulde be thought necessarrie for them. And all the residue of the hoast were the King's seruaunts and other singuler horsemen and archers, or at the least wth fewe seruaunts, hyred by the Kinge, so manie as performed the first number of 15400.² And so the Kings whole hoast besides laborers and artificers amounted to the number of 25527 fightinge men of whome euery fourth man was a horseman.³ And these things thus ordered, and the Nauy, for the conveyance readie apparelled, the Kinge entered his shipp, 20 w^{ch} was royallie and sumptuouslie adorned; the sayle thereof was sylke of purple couller, right bounteouslie embrodered wth both the Arms of Englande and of Fraunce. And this shipp they called the Kings chamber; he had also a second carricke of like apparell, w^{ch} by the Kings commaundment they called the Kings Hall. And these too he ordered to be principall and the chiefetaines of all the residue of his nauy.

Poli-
cronicon.

⁴ But tofore he departed the Realme he constituted John,

¹ *It will be observed that the figures do not exactly add up. The total of the separate items is on the best figures 2281 spears and 6860 archers; the total for the thirteen lords should apparently be 526 and 1578. Three archers to every spear was a fixed proportion, which was not in fact always observed. The Muster-Rolls in the Record Office give about 1800 spears and 6000 archers. But neither the Rolls nor the list above is complete. Sir J. Ramsay (Lancaster and York, i. 251) from a comparison suggests a total of 2300 and 7400. The total of 16400 may represent the whole host, both soldiers and followers.*

² sexdecim (or quindecim in other copies) millium quadringentorum Livius.

³ *This sentence is an addition by the Translator, who is followed by Stow. The number 25527 is apparently arrived at by adding the separate contingents on to the original 16400.*

⁴ *Not in Policronicon; Brut, p. 382.*

Duke of Bedford, his brother, to be protector of his Realme of England in his absence.

Because his journey shoulde not be knowne to his enemies nor where he intended to arive,¹ the Kinge kept his purpose secret from his companie, except that to such persons as was his pleasure he disclosed his counsell. And for that cause he had commaunded that all the rest of his navy should followe those two shippes Royall, whithersoever they woulde sayle.² To all the navy it pleased God to send a good and plesaunt
 10 winde, vntill the first day of August they all arryued in Normandy, not farr from the Castell of Tonque.³ Then the watches and guardes of the sea banks, and of the havens of that cuntry, at the first perceauinge so greate an navye, whose streinght they knewe themselues not able to resist, left there stations and fledd to saue their lyues. The Kinge wth all his companie arriued and tooke land, where at his first landinge he dubbed 48 knights⁴ of his hoast, such as were able and worthie of that order; and that done he ordered to be proclaymed all those ordynaunces and edicts that were published
 20 tofore the besieginge of Harefleet, and also diuers other such as he thought to be good and profitable for his hoast. Not farr from the sea banke where he landed were smale and ruynate howses, wherein the Kinge wth diuers other his most familliar and his householde seruants were lodged for that night. And the residue of his hoast were lodged in there tents & pavillions. And when all the shippes were vnladen and discharged of their carriage he sent againe all the navy into England, except such shippes as were deputed for the carriage of gunns and other engines and habiliments of warr.⁵
 30 ⁶ And except also such shippes as the Kinge had assigned to the Earle of Marche readily manned and apparelled to kepe the sea peaceably and quiett. Policronicon.

¹ *The Translator puts this clause at the end of the previous paragraph.*

² *These two sentences are a very free rendering of Livius, p. 33; Stow omits.*

³ *Touques, near Trowville.*

⁴ *nobiles quosdam milites Livius; the number comes from Brut, p. 382.*

⁵ *Stow abbreviates this paragraph.*

⁶ *Policronicon, p. 228; Brut, p. 383.*

Titus
Liuius.

¹ And that done the Kinge sent noble men of armes and horsebacke to espie the situacion and streinght of the castell of Humplewe², and of other Castells, Townes and Citties nighe vnto those parts; w^{ch} gentlemen, wth manie prisoners and greate prayes of beastes, returned to the hoast in euerie thinge satisfied the Kings mynde, for as much as was there charge. There enemies assured of there comminge in so greate a number were all stricken wth feare, everie man of them for himselfe conveyed there stufe, there beastes, theire graynes, and all other goods into Citties, Castells, and Townes,¹⁰ not knowinge whome the Kinge woulde first assiege. Then they prepared there holds, they strenghtened there Townes and walls wth stones and gunns and other things necessarie. They purveyed them of all things that they thought profit-able for there defence, and for the resistance of there enemies. The Kinge tooke his enterprise to assiege the Towne of Tonque, whose Castell was maruelouslie defensible wth stronge walls and deepe ditches. The assieginge whereof was geuen to the Duke of Glocester, the puissant and manly chieftayne of the Kings Auantgarde, who constrained the Frenchmen so²⁰ sore, what wth gunns and other engins of warr, that wthin shortt time, that is to saye the 4th day of this assiege,⁴ and the nynth day of August, they promised to yealde the Castell to the Duke. Howbeit they that were deputed⁵ to keepe the Castell sent first two gentlemen to runne⁶ to the Dolphine to giue him knowledge, that if the Castell were not shortlie rescued from this greate perrill they coulede no longer keepe it vnder the obeysaunce of the Kinge of Fraunce; w^{ch} mes-sengers as soone as they hadd saide the message were immeadiatly commaunded to be hanged.³⁰

Enguer-
unt.³

Titus
Liuius.

Poli-
cronicon.

⁷ And when the day that they had appointed wth the Duke was come, and that they hard no worde of succour, they yealded the Castell to the Kinge, whereof he made one

¹ *Livius*, p. 34.

² Honfleur.

³ *Monstrelet*, iii. 189; but the Translator really follows *Livius*.

⁴ *Livius*, p. 34.

⁵ departed *B.*; qui ad ipsius castelli praesidium locati fuerant *Livius*. *Stow abbreviates*.

⁶ Probably we should read Rone (*Rouen*); Rothomagum *Livius*.

⁷ *Policronicon*, p. 228; *Brut*, p. 383.

S^r John Kikle¹ capitaine; and the Earle of Salisburie conductor of the Kings second battaile, whilst the Duke of Gloucester assieged the Castell of Tonque, wann the Castell of Aumbeliers², and put out the Frenchmen thereof, w^{ch} Castell so taken wth all that belonged thereto the Kinge gaue to the same Earle. And thus this noble Earle was the first that had any lands geuen vnto him of the Kings liberality in this Conquest.³ The Earl Marshall was sent to the Castell of Louers, w^{ch} wthin short time he subdued. And after it was
 10 geuen him by the Kinge.⁴

⁵ This Invincible Kinge nothinge doubtinge the recouerie of his right, neuerthelesse he cleerelie perceaued what preiudice it was to the Realme of Fraunce thus to dispoyle the Townes and Citties that were taken: and when battells were, what cruell death and murther it caused to the people. Therefore to eschewe all such inconveniences and inhauncments he sent his Herrals vnto the Dolphine (as to whome first and most speciallie belongeth the defence of the Realme, inasmuch as
 20 the Kinge his father, who at that time was lymited, was vnable to the charge of the realme)⁶ requyringe him vnto an vniuersall peace for all the Realme, wherevnto the Kinge woulde also agree on this manner: that if the Dolphine woulde assure him to fight against him, body against body, without the ayde of both ther peoples, then whether of them obtayned the victorie shoulde for euer inioy the land and people of Fraunce. But the Dolphine, fearinge to submitt
 himselfe to so greate a perrill, refused the peace vnder that condicion. Then the Kinge, seeinge his request refused and that the winter approched at hand, councelled wth his nobles
 30 and wise men what was to be done, that his hoast in most ease might surelie passe the winter, and that they shoulde not haue ouermuch scarcetie of victuall. They all aduized the Kinge to assiege Caen, w^{ch} seemeth to be a large Towne well garnished wth houses and abundant of all things necessarie; nor, as it them seemed, it was not so defensible that it might

¹ Kyghley *H.*; Kykeley *Stow.*

² Aubvilliers.

³ *Livius*, p. 34.

⁴ *Brut*, p. 383.

⁵ *Livius*, pp. 34-7.

⁶ For this clause *Livius* has simply: ut ad eum cui patriae defensio primum spectare videbatur; *B. reads* were lymited.

longe resist the Kings power. And that taken the other stronge hollds, Citties, and Townes of lesse fame shoulde the rather yealde them to the Kinge, to the lesse labour and perrill of the Kings people : w^{ch} sentence approued, the Kinge wth all his army, keepinge that same order that they were accustomed, tooke his journey towards Cane ; but because he might not leade so great an army by the right ways ouer so many riuers and brooks, as were in the way, w^{thout} there perrill and dainger, therefore he went about the furder way for his people. And when he approached so nighe as that 10 the aduersaries perceaued that he intended to laye his siege to Caene,¹ the Kinge sent tofore him the noble Duke of Clarence, his brother, wth 1000 horsemen to keepe the subberbes of the Towne, that th'inhabitants of the Towne shoulde not burne them, nor distroy them ; for he suspected that th'inhabitants knowinge his enterprise would burne them knowinge it, least his hoast shoulde not haue their lodginge in them. And so they had vndoubtedly done, had not the sooner comminge of the Duke letted them of their purpose. Then the Englishmen, wth water, and greate strenght and force of armes, quenched 20 and put out the fyre that the Frenchmen had alreadie lighted in the coueringe and thatch of the houses. The Englishmen also slewe many of there enemies that laboured to destroy those eddifices. Nighe adioyninge to the walls of this Towne was a stronge Abbey, dedicated to the honnor of S^t Stephen, w^{ch} had highe and defensable walls, and deepe ditches ; the Frenchmen, fearinge least this Abbey and stronge Tower thereof shoulde be occupied of the Englishmen to the dainger of the Towne, vndermynd the pillars of the saide Tower and payned them to ouerthrowe it to the grounde, and had brought 30 the same nighe to rewyne, when the said noble Duke by knightlie deeds of armes obtayned and wann that place of the enemies. Then he caused the pillars thereof to be repayred and replenished wth earth, where it was myned. And in this manner he saued it from distruction.² Not farr from this place was another Monasterie of religious weomen, right

¹ *This is a gloss of the Translator ; from Livius it is clear that Clarence was sent ahead from Touques.*

² *Stow, who much abbreviates this paragraph, inserts here from Walsingham (Historia Anglicana, ii. 322-3) the positions of the*

stronge and defensable, wth also that worthie Duke had receaued vnder his tuition wth greate strenght and battaile. After the Kinge, wth all his hoast came tofore the Towne of Cane, vnto the walls thereof he approached as nighe and as soone as he conveniently might. This situacion of this Towne is a playne; it is streinghtned wth broade and deepe ditches, and highe and stronge walls; and in the middell of this Towne runneth a passinge and swifte floode or ryuer. And at the Kings comminge it was right well garnished and pur-
 10 ueyed of noble men of warr, of harnes, of ordinaunce, and of victualls, and generallie of all things that coude be thought, necessarie for the defence of the Towne. The most puissant and victorious Kinge, wisely beholdinge the streinght and situacion of this place, delibered where he shoulde sett his siege, most lightlie to confounde there enemies. And though that part of the Towne, wth he first had chosen, was lest defensible and most sure for him from the dainger of his enemies, yet hauinge his only confidence in God and in Justice, perceauinge the strongest and most defensable Tower
 20 of the Towne, he lodged himself directly against the Tower, wherein was the largest issue for there enemies vppon the Englishmen.¹ Thus he left that place, wherein was least dainger, and lodged him in the most daingerous place that he coude finde: but in that remoouinge he hadd a daingerous passage ouer a ryver tofore he coude come to that place that he desired. The Duke of Clarence laye also vppon that same side of the River, but farr distant from the English hoast. The Duke of Glocester was commaunded by the
 30 the Kinge had made him ruler and ouerseer. The Kinge occupied all his studie to make a plaine and large way into the Towne for his people: and when he perceaued the strongest and most defensible place of the Towne, there he sett the greatest resistance, the greatest streinght, and the most dilligent and best watch. Howbeit there was no place wherein the Towne was not oppressed by the siege, or kept straight by

English captains, together with the story of how a monk of St. Stephen's betrayed the Abbey to Clarence, to save it from destruction.

¹ ad insultus Gallorum patentior *Livius*.

watches. When the inhabitants of the Towne perceaued themselves thus assieged, inclosed, and invironed ¹ wth so greate strenghts, they gaue not themselves to ease or idlenes, but to right greate labours for the defence of the Towne and of themselves, as neede was to doe. They made greate walls and bullwarks of the earth and claye tofore there stone walls to resist the violence of the English gunns. They ordayned gunns, slyngs, baselicts ², and other engins of warr for the battaile and defence in places most fitt and convenient for the same. They established watches, wards, and manie other ¹⁰ deuises that they beleueed to be profitable for the suertie of the Towne and of themselves. Amongst the English ordynaunce were diuers gunns and other engins, that were conueyed thether by shippes, of maruelous greate quantitie: w^{ch} for there greatenes, when they were shott, not only depeced the walls by there strokes, but also by there only vyolence of there incredible noyse or sounde they brake the windowes of the Temple of S^t Stephens, w^{ch} we saide before to be preserued by the Duke of Clarence; notwthstandinge that that Abbey was farr from thence, where those gunns laye. ²⁰ And wthin the Towne also manie olde edifices, not by the stroke onelie but by violent noyse of the gunns, were ouerthrowne and cast to the grounde.

Cronica
Angli-
cana.

³ Whilst the Kinge lay at this siege, the Earle of Marche, whome the Kinge had left to keepe the sea, leauinge the sea peaceable and wthout enemies, landed at Hogges in Normandie, and from thence he tooke his journey towards the Kinge. In w^{ch} journey one Anthonie Pigge ⁴ accompanied him and guided him ouer a perrillous ryver, wherein both he and all his companie were greatly endaingered of their lyues. ³⁰ And so the same Earle came vnto the Kinge then beinge at his siege tofore Cane, where at his comminge he was briefelie appointed to his lodginge in the field. ⁵ Neither this thinge me seemed to be kept in scilence, that vppon one part of the

¹ evyroned *B.*

² balistae *Livius.*

³ *Brut*, p. 85; where, however, the incident is put after the siege of Caen.

⁴ A pig dedicated to St. Anthony, and so tame that it would follow people in the hope of food.

⁵ The Translator resumes from *Livius*, p. 37.

Towne the walls were right feeble. At w^{ch} place the Englishmen right shortly and wthout greate labour and dainger might haue had a large entry into the Towne. But a certen Church was nighe adioyninge to that wall, w^{ch}, if the wall had been ouerthrowne, must of necessity haue fallen therewith. And therefore this most Christian Kinge spared the wall in the fauour of the Church, as the most devout Prince to God and to the Church. The inhabitauntes, seeinge ther walls con-
 10 tuuallie beaten and cast downe by shott of gunns, repayred them wth all dilligence wth tymber and wth earth. They also shott many gunns amongst the English tents. Of neither part they spared to labour.¹ The Englishmen made mynes vnder the walls of the Towne, the sooner to bring them to rewyne; against whome the Frenchmen countermined; and in those mynes they often fought right cruelly, and in the best manner for the oppression of there enemies they coulede devise. The Kinge laboured to haue way to his enemies: he goeth about; he visiteth the stations, the wards, and the watches of his hoast; he left nothinge vndone that might be thought
 20 profitable to attaine to his purpose. And when he first perceaued, where by gunns and other engins he might haue a sufficient entrie into the Towne for his people: yet he pondered and considered, what murther of people chaunceth by invasion of walls and Townes,² w^{ch} if it may skarcely be measured and forborne of the Kinge, w^{ch} is ruler³ of the hoast, yet woulde be much more difficult to be measured by the men of arms and souldiers. Wherefore the Kinge intendinge in time to put thereto a remedy, sent his harralds to the captaines and rulers of the Towne to aduertise and exhort them to deliuer
 30 the Towne to the Kinge, and rather to aduenture the Kings mercie then to abide the dainger of the invasion of the Towne. But these captaines trustinge in theire labours and trauailes, wherein they were maruelous dilligent, aunswered that they were defensible and stronge enoughe to resist all manner of assaults of the Englishmen. And therefore they commaunded them to returne, and answere vnto the Kinge, that they woulde

¹ Ab obsidentibus nec obsessis labori nulli parcuritur *Livius*.

² quid juris [or viris] muralis pugna terrarum et oppugnatio solita sit afferre *Livius*.

³ ruled *B.*; temperare vix ab Imperatore . . . potest *Livius*.

holde the Towne vnder the obedyence of him, whome they had holden it tofore. Wth aunswere when it was shewed to the Kinge, imediatly he contriued and compassed in his mynde, by what meanes he might most easelie subdewe both the Towne and the people to his Empire.¹ And when he had ynough delibered wth himself, both of the manner, and of the time of the assault he intended to make, the daye tofore he intended to make his assault, he assembled before him all the principall captaines of his hoast ; and declaringe to them his intent and purpose, he commaunded them vntill the next 10 morrowe to keepe the same secrett, least by the disclosinge of his mynde shoulde come to his enemies, whereby they might the rather resist his streinght and avoyde the mischiefe. And this was the manner of the assault by him devised. That everie capten of the whole hoast shoulde deuide his retynewe in three equall parts ; and as soone in the morninge as they coulde heare a trumpett blowe in the Kings tent, they shoulde imediatlie goe to assault the Towne wth the first part of his retynewe so deuided, and wth all the noyse of trumpetts, tabors, and claryons, that coulde be made. And when the 20 first part of the hoast were weryed wth travell and laboure, the seconde part shoulde succoure them, and contynewe the assaulte, whilst the other tooke there rest. And when the second part were wearie, the thirde part shoulde in like manner giue ayde vnto them. And if by that time the Towne were not taken, then the first part, after they were well reposed, shoulde assist the thirde parte ; and so they shoulde contynewe alternatly vntill the ende of there desired victorie. After this knowledge of the Kings pleasure, every captaine returned to his owne companie. The fourth day of September,² in the 30 first appeeringe of the day, trumpets were blowne in the Kings tents. And foorthwth, all the other trumpetts and tabors aunsweringe for euerie tent and pavillion, every man ranne to armes. The inhabitaunts of the Towne, that kept the watches on the walls, hearinge this noyse, and seeinge the

¹ in suam ditionem *Livius*.

² December. *B.*, an obvious error ; Pridie Nonas Septembris *Livius* ; The fourth day of September *Stow*, who now resumes after omitting all from vnder his tuition, on p. 85 above.

Englishmen approach the walls in armes, gaue thereof knowledge to there captaines and souldiers.¹ The Englishmen rayed there ladders to the walls, and assayed to skale them wth all the dilligence they coulede; but many of them were foorthwth cast backwards into the ditch, and there ladders wth them. Then on all parts the Englishmen assended the walls, and foorthwth fought right manly, and labored right sore to gett the Towne; and they of the Towne endeouored them as busilie, and not wth lesse laboure, by shott and castinge of
 10 stones, by sheddingde of skaldinge water and boylinge pitch and oyle vppon the Englishmen to resist their enterprise; but allwaies, as one ladder was ouerthrowne and cast from the walls, many other more ardently were sett vpp in his place. And because at that part of the Towne, where the Kings Ma^{tie} assaulted, seemed to be the strongest men and the best fighters of the Englishmen, therefore they of the Towne in like manner sett the strongest and best fightinge men against the Kings part, and they of all the Towne most intentife to the defence of that part. Howbeit that no part of the walls
 20 were voyde of stronge men and right good fighters. They cast greate stones vppon the Englishmen. They poured on there heades skaldinge water, boylinge pitch and oyle.² And to speake breifelie they left nothing vndone that coulede be thought profitable for their defence. But neither there castinge of there greate stones, that ouerthrewe the Englishmen from aboue at the hight of the walls vntill the bottomes of the deepe ditches, neither the skaldinge water entringe on euerie part betwext there harnes and boddies, neither the whote pitch and oyle boylinge and blyndinge their eyes and
 30 scaldinge their faces, might make the Englishmen forsake the assault begonne.³ In an other place farr from the Kinge was the noble Duke of Clarence, w^{ch} also wth greate vigor assaulted

¹ Oppidani se supra muros splendentibus armis virorum relucenti corona regi se suoque monstrant *Livius*.

² In Anglicos ingentia saxa provolvunt, calcem in pugnantium oculos effundunt, mox et bullientis aquae maximam quantitatem *Livius*. The French cast great stones vpon the English men, they powered on their heads scetting water, molten lead, boyling pitch and oyle *Stow*.

³ *Stow*, after much abbreviating the Translator, here breaks off to give the story of Sir Edmond Springle from Walsingham (*Hist. Angl.* ii. 324), see below, p. 92.

the Towne on his part: whose strenght the Frenchmen, neither by the helpe of there highe walls, there deepe ditches, by castinge of stones, by shott, by helpe of there whot water, boylinge pitch or oyle, nor by no manner of streinght or pollicie might resist them, but that they were so sore oppressed by the Duke and of his people, wth in maruelous multitude and incredible audacitie and manhoode scaled the walls: and they were constrayned to forsake the walls and to flye into the Towne. Then the Duke wth all his power entered the Towne on this parte, whereby euerie street and way that ¹⁰ they came vnto detrenched and slewe the Frenchmen, and all that they might attayne vnto they gaue the sworde.¹ There was no Frenchman spared saue priests, that were vnarmed, and women and children. But briefly after the Englishmen perceaued themselues to be assured of their enemies, they spared to slay, and tooke many prisoners. When that noble Duke had subdued all that part of the Towne vnto that river, then he came to the bridge² entendinge to wyynn the other part also. At w^{ch} bridge the inhabitants to there possibilitie resisted his passage, but there strenght suffered not ²⁰ longe to endure against the Englishmen; for right shortlie they were slayne and put to flight by the Duke, who sought euerie part of the other half of the Towne, where he made greate occision³ and murther of Frenchmen. When the Duke had subdued the remnant of the Towne, and had slayne and taken all them that were able to make resistance, he went vnto that part, where the Kings battaile wth all there force were⁴ yet fightinge and assaultinge the Towne. Then the Duke assendinge the walls wthin the Towne, where he slewe and cast down the Frenchmen to the grounde, and ³⁰ made the Kings Battaile an open waie into the Towne, wthout any manner of resistance. Whilest those things were yet in doeing wthin the Towne, came knowledge to the Kinge, that right nighe approached a great hoast of his aduersaries to dissolue his siege. Then the Duke,⁵ leauinge such as he

¹ Pugnatur et in oppido per vicos, per plateas, ubi rebelles quotquot Anglici conveniunt omnes interimunt *Livius*.

² pontem oppidum fluminis in duo dividit *Livius*.

³ occasion *B.*; stragem ingentem *Livius*.

⁴ were *om. B.* ⁵ rex *Livius*.

thought necessary to preserue the assault, of his owne person wth the rest of his companie prepared him to encounter his aduersaries in the plaine field; but against him came no man nor none enemy appeared. At the last the great plague and tempest of the assault appeased, the victorious Kinge wth all his hoast entered the Towne by the gates that the Duke of Clarence had opened for him; and after the entrie thereof the Kinge went not to beholde the greate edifices and buildings of the Towne, neither to accumulate together the prayes and
 10 ritches of his enemies, but wth right greate devotion he went to the Church of S^t Peter, w^{ch} was the principall Church of the Towne, there to giue laudings and prayings to the Immortall God for the obtayninge of his greate victorie. All they that intended to prowes¹ were maruelouslie enriched, for the inhabitants of the Towne were men of greate substance. But there was no man, howe hardy soeuer he was, durst to² robb or spoyle any Church or hallowde place for feare of the Kings Justice, w^{ch} was extreame in such case. And what soeuer any man tooke it was left vnto him for his owne. Nor also the
 20 Englishmen oppressed, nor rauished no weomen and children. But shortly after the Kinge commaunded all the weomen and children to avoyde the Towne. And thus the Towne of Caene was inhabited of newe possessors by the greate streight and vertue of the Englishmen. Neuerthesse the Castle of Cane was not yet gotten nor deliuered. The captaines thereof had there confidence in the highe and stronge walls of the Castell, in the deepe ditches, and in the greate number of towers, wherewth the Castell was environed, whereby they thought themselues inexpugnable. Howbeit by the takinge
 30 of the Towne they were much more streightly inclosed than before.

³ Notwthstandinge whatsoeuer the Englishmen woulde doe, Enguer-
 they helde it in three weekes after the takinge of the Towne. unt.

⁴ The Kinge consideringe that the Castell woulde not be Titus
 Liuius.

¹ Read prayes (booty) as in *Stow*; praedae intenti *Livius*.

² durst presume to *Stow*.

³ *Monstrelet*, iii. 242.

⁴ *Livius*, p. 40. Locaverat enim mox victoria rex potitus validam circum in agris et in Cádomo portae qua itur in oppidum solertemque obsidionem.

deliuered to him wthout ¹appointed a stronge companie to assiege it, in the feeldes, and in the gates of the towne that were towards the Castell.

Cronica
Angli-
cana.

² At this assault and entry of the Towne was slayne a worshippingful man on the English partie, whose name was Springes, the body of whome the Kinge caused to be enterred in the Abbey of Caene by the Sepulter of Kinge William the Conqueror.

³ After this greate victorie of the Towne, as I haue heard of the report of the tofore named Earle of Ormound, all the ¹⁰ greatest riches of the Towne, y^t was left vnspoyled, by the Kings straight commaundement were gathered together, and put into a greate and stronge house ; whereof, when the doore was fast locked, the Kinge gaue the key and all the substance in that house to the Duke of Clarence, because by him the Towne was first entred and gotten, and to himselfe the Kinge reserued nothinge except a goodly French Booke, of what historie I haue not heard. Then the noble Duke, that had receaued so much riches and munificence, distributeth the same wth like liberallity amongst his people that had deserued it ; ²⁰ whereby he maruelouslie obtayned theire fauour and love. Then the Kings high enterprise of this warr, what shoulde I saie to be the occasion. If I shoulde presume too much couetousnes to be the cause thereof, then in two things comprised in this historie presedent I shoulde condemne myselfe : for first at his entrie into the Towne as afore recited, the Kings felicitie was neither set in beholdinge the highe and goodlie edifices and buildinges of this Towne w^{ch} then was his owne, nor yet he delighted in the sight and possession of so much riches and substance, as in golde, silver, precious stones, ³⁰ rich clothes, nor generally of nothinge within the Towne ; nor, that more is, when the great quantetie thereof were after gathered together and laide tofore him, and at his pleasure and his owne, nothwthstandinge that he right well considered and remembered the innumerable expence that he daylie was charged wth for the wages of his people, and also for many other occasions in his owne warr, yet a Prince, from whome all

¹ *Blank in B.* ; him, he appointed *H.*

² *Brut*, p. 384.

³ *The whole of this paragraph is an addition by the Translator.*

avarice was farr exiled, and not couetinge the vaine riches of the worlde, gaue all the same riches to the Duke of Clarence, whome as himselfe seemed had best deserued it, not reseruinge any thinge of valewe to himselfe. And for as much as [in] this historie before, it is largelie proued that pride and vaine glorie had no place in him, as it appeareth: First in his humble entrie into the Towne of Harefleete both barefooted and barelegged, and also at the battaile of Agincourt, and at his comminge into England after the same battaile. What then
 10 shall we saye to be the cause of this his enterprise in warr, considered that manie of his Conquerors of times past were inuelupted in vaine glorie to be honored and exalted aboue all others, or else in couetousnes of worldly substaunce? Truly to my pretence and judgement it is surely to beleue, that the desire of justice and of his right, wth euerie man is bounden to his power to demaund and seeke, only mooued him to this warr. Wherefore it is vndoubted that the hand of God was euer readie wth him. Therefore me seemed it good counsell for euerie Christian Prince, enterprisinge any warr wth good
 20 and stedfast confidence in God to ensewe the vertues wherein this most Christian Kinge and most vertuous Prince is heere commended; and they soe doeinge may be well assured in the example of him to attaine in like honnors and conquestes. Then to returne to our former purpose and matter.

¹ After the takinge of this Towne of Caene, the siege yet duringe tofore the Castell of the same, that Puissant Prince the Duke of Glocester [went]² wth his battaile to Bayeux, whereat when he had laye certen daies, the inhabitants thereof hauinge knowledge of the gettinge³ of Caene, and of the
 30 dispoylinge thereof, consideringe also the streight and pollycie of the Englishmen, tooke appointment wth the Duke. First they yealded the Cittie freely vnto him, and also the Castell of the same, and promised to be true liegemen to the Kinge Henrie of England, and that from thence forth they woulde knowe no man for theire Soueraigne but only Kinge Henrie and his heires. And the Duke by the Kinges commaundment gaue vnto them just and good gouernance and lawes; and that they

Titus
Liuius.

¹ *Livius*, pp. 40-42.

² *om. MSS., and Stow; vadit Livius.*

³ greetinge *B.*: expugnationem *Livius*.

shoulde free lie in there manner tofore accustomed, vnder the protection and obeysance of the Kinge of Englande, as they tofore had done vnder the gouernaunce of the French Kinge. Whilst the Duke continewd tofore the Cittie, it was shewed to the Kinge that a right greate power of Frenchmen were assembled and were comminge to araise this siege of the Castells of Caene. Then that victorious Kinge lefte the Towne of Cane, and lodged himselfe and all his people, a smale number except, w^{ch} contynued the siege before the Castell, in the fields in there tents and pauillions entendinge 10 there to abide his enemies. And at that time appeared to the sight of all men a maruelous prodigie or token. And that was a white crosse was seene stand ouer the Kings pauillion by a greate season. Th'armes were so broade that they couered all the English tents. Of the sight whereof euerie man was greatly a marueled. And the Kinge longe abode the comminge of his aduersaries in the field. But no man presented him as an enemy tofore his face. And therefore after certen daies the captaines¹ of the Castell, seeinge them¹ priued of all liberties, consideringe that no rescue came to 20 dissolue the siege, nor that he¹ had no letters from his friends of no comfort nor rescue; and himselfe also as weary and ouercome by the prayers of his companie, w^{ch} feared like chaunce as tofore had fortun'd to the Towne; and also at the instance and for the loue of diuers worshippfull men of the Towne, that were prisoners wth the Englishmen and manaced to be slayne if the Castell were not the sooner deliuered; all these things by him pondered, the saide capten couenaunted wth the Kinge in this manner: that if they were not reskewed from the siege wthin 14 daies, they shoulde deliuer to the 30 Kinge there Castell wth all Gunns, Engins, Armors, and all other things concerninge the feats of armes. And the capten, wth other of the Castell and the Towne also that were fledd into the Castell for refuge, shoulde depart wth all there goods freely and surely whether they pleased. After this appointment, when the 14 daies were expired and no succoure came for there deliuerance, the captaine disposed him to absolue his saide appointment wth the Kinge, w^{ch} was accomplished in

¹ *Sic in MSS.; praefectus castelli Livius.*

this manner.¹ The 20th day of September the Kings pretory, or haule, of goulde and siluer silke, was sett vpp, and therein a ritch and goodly siege of estate: wherein when the Kinge was sett and all his great princes and estates aboute him, the capten of the Castell, presentinge himselfe before the Kinge, fell vppon his knees and yealded vnto him the keyes of the Castell wth all other things tofore rehearsed. Then the capten wth all his garrison, wth others of the Towne and Castell, wth all there goods and baggages were suffered to haue sure
 10 passages vnto there countries desired. And a newe garrison and capten were deputed to the keeping of the Castell. And because it was [reported]² by the French prisoners that much ritches were hidd in the steeples and towers of churches in that Cittie,³ the Kinge, wth all dilligence that coulede be, assembled together all the goods, ritches, and jewells of all the parrishe churches, abbies and other places of religion, that were brought in that Cittie to be kept, and deliuered it to trewe and good men to be safelie kept vntill the same places to whome the goods belonged were subdewed to his power.
 20 And then he commaunded that they shoulde be restored to there former possessors. And so was after done. Then to returne to the Duke of Glocester, whome we left before the Cittie of Bayeux. After the cittizens of the same vppon such appointment (as is tofore saide) had yealded themselues, theire Cittie, & there Castell vnto him, the saide noble Duke entered into the same Cittie, and recouered it for the Kinge, and after fortified it, as it seemed to him most necessary.

⁴ In short time the English had taken the Cittie of Liceux,⁵ and the Castell of Newby.⁶ And not longe after all y^t was
 30 fortified, were it Towne, Castell, or Cittie, within a greate precincte about them, were taken and reduced to the Kings obeysance. This most prudent Kinge, consideringe that nothinge might resist his might and streight, and that by his conquest the country was sore dispouerd of people, he

¹ Nullum et cum subsidium ad ipsum tempus devenisset, ad deditionem se parant. *Livius*, p. 41.

² om. *MSS.*; vulgabatur *Livius*.

³ ecclesiarum in arce bona multa reposita *Livius*.

⁴ *Livius*, pp. 42-4. ⁵ Lisieux.

⁶ Nennby or Newby *Livius*; Mewby *Stow*.

assembled his estats, by whome he councelled what was to be done to reconcile the harts and mindes of the Frenchmen vnto him ; for allthought all things followed his minde fortunatlie, notwthstandinge the contrarie power of his enemies, yet if he shoulde pursue his conquests and subdue the lande by armes wthout appeasinge the minds of the gentlemen and commons, at the last he shoulde bringe all the lande in desolacion, w^{ch} he intended not : insomuch as he first enterprised the warr for to conquer his inhabitants,¹ w^{ch} he minded rather to loose wth all his right in Fraunce, then to be lorde of a voyde and ¹⁰ desolate countrie. Wherefore by the sentence of all his counsell, he commaunded to be proclaymed in Caene, that whoso woulde returne to there proper howses to lyue vnder the obeysance of the Kinge of Englande and to be sworne to be faithfull liegemen vnto him, and to his heires, they shoulde inioy there houses and lands, and there former right and title. And if anie other Frenchmen desired to abide, chevish, laboure; and trauell ² in any lands or Townes, that the Englishmen had conquered, they shoulde first assure the Kinge by oath of true and faithfull allegiance ; and that done, they shoulde dwell, ²⁰ inhabite, chevish, jurney, and laboure surelie, in what places they woulde vnder his dominion. Which proclamacion made, many Frenchmen, as well noblemen, cittizens, burgesses, as commons, allmost all the countrie, returned againe in short tyme and made to the Kinge fealtie as is aforesaide. And of there sure and free abidinge in the Townes that were in the Kings Dominions they had Letters Pattents of the Kinge. And thus wth the Kings good will they lived well and peaceable, and prospered as well and better then tofore ; and continewed more joyouslie then before, for because the Kinge of ³⁰ his goodnes had amoued certen vniust and dishonest exactions and impositions of money tofore vsed in that countrie. And thus in short time all that countrie was brought wth good will, loue, and fauour vnder the Kings dominions. ³ Shortly after that the Kinge hadd deputed in all his places and

¹ *Read, inheritance ; hereditatem Livius.*

² *negotiarı artes et officinas exercere velit Livius.*

³ *Here Stow resumes, having omitted all from reduced to the kings obeysance on p. 95, and inserted notices of the capture of Sir John Oldcastle, and of the Foul Raid from Walsingham and Otterbourne.*

Townes gouernors and captens, into whose hands all the Frenchmen, that shoulde returne into the Kings Citties & Townes, shoulde giue there oathes of there faithful and true allegiaunce, the first day of October he departed from Caene wth his people, leauinge behinde him a sufficient garrison, and tooke his journey towards the Castell of Courcy, w^{ch} at the thirde daye of his comminge vnto it was yealded vnto him. And from thence the vjth day of October he went to assiege Argenton. This Towne was verie defensib^{le} & 10 stronge, wth a Castell of great strenght ; but the inhabitants of this towne, to whome it was not vnknowne the late oppression and desolacion of Caene, aunswered vnto the Kings Harralds that were sent vnto them to demaunde the deliuerance of the Towne : that, if they were not succoured by the Frenchmen by a certen day lymitted, they woulde deliuer both the Towne and the Castell to the Kinge, vnder such condicions : that whosoeuer woulde depart thence he shoulde haue libertie to goe freely wth all his goodes into what place of Fraunce he woulde ; and they that woulde abide, first geuinge 20 vnto the Kinge theire faith, shoulde surelie abide there vnder the Empiere of Kinge Henrie wthout loosinge anie of there goods and possessions, and from thenceforth they shoulde holde the Kinge for there Soueraigne Lord and Kinge, nor after that they shoulde knowe no other kinge, but only Kinge Henrie and his heires. All w^{ch} offers and condicions the Kinge right meeke accepted.¹ And when the time lymitted was come, and the Towne wthout succours, the inhabitants thereof for there parte performed there couenaunts. And the Towne and Castell were deliuered to the Kinge, who on his 30 part attempted not to break those pactions that he tofore had couenaunted wth them. And when the Kinge had constituted in the Towne and Castell captens to receaue the oathes of them that they shoulde abide there, and wth them also hadd appointed certayne garrisons for the defence of them, he prepared himself to an other journey. After this dailie resorted to the Kinge much people of Normandy to doe fealtie to the Kinge, and to liue vnder his Empiere.² The Cittie of

¹ *This sentence is an insertion by the Translator.*

² *to liue vnder his Empiere, an insertion of the Translator ; adopted by Stow.*

Sees,¹ w^{ch} was right well peopled, and wherein were two Abbeyes maruelouslie stronge and defensible, yealded them vnto the Kinge : notwthstandinge the one of those Abbyes, if it woulde have preserued as a rebell, coulde not haue bin gotten wthout greate murther of people, for the strenght thereof. And many other Townes in that province yealded themselues vnto the Kinge wthout assault or battaile, by the example of this Cittie and of these two Abbyes. The things thus done, the Kinge tooke his voyage to Alamsom² to receaue into his dominion the Towne of Semgle.³ In w^{ch} journey he sent a greate peece¹⁰ of his second armye to 2 stronge Abbeyes, whereof the one was Bomolins⁴ and the other Essey⁵, w^{ch} if they had made resistance he commaunded to be taken by force : but they submitted themselues to the Kings power, escheuinge the dainger of the assaults. In w^{ch} places the Englishmen at there departinge left stronge garrisons, to the ende that they shoulde trouble there neighbours that were enemies all that winter.⁶

⁷ And the Kinge continewd his journey begune vntill he came to Alamsom ; and the 15th daie of October they first²⁰ dilligentlie viewed and knowen w^{ch} parts thereof seemed most able to resist their assaultes. The Kinge sett his assiege tofore the Towne in this manner. First he commaunded the Puissant Prince, the Duke of Glocester, his brother, to fixe his tents before the Castell, w^{ch} was the strongest and most invincible part of the Towne. And all the remnaunte thereof he asseiged according to the strenght of the Towne. For where the strongest and most defensible places of the Towne were, there he sett the best captens and the strongest men of warr, and others he lymitted to parts of lesse streight. This³⁰ Towne is situat in a champion soyle,⁸ it was garnished wth deepe ditches and greate and highe walls, wherevppon were manie greate Towers and Turretts sett verie neere the one to the other. The situacion of that Castell was very pleasant, it was defended⁹ in like manner wth ditches, wall, and Towers

¹ Seez. ² Alençon.

³ Vermile *Livius* ; Semile *Stow*. *It is intended for Verneuil.*

⁴ Bonmoulins. ⁵ Essay.

⁶ *Stow abbreviated this paragraph.*

⁷ *Livius*, pp. 44-8.

⁸ Erat Alenconium oppidum campestre *Livius*.

⁹ descended *B.* ; munitum *Livius*.

much better then the Towne. The inhabitants of the Towne consideringe that the Kinge woulde in no wise desist from the enterprise of this siege vntill the Towne were either taken or yealded, and on the other partie havinge little esperance of succour from the Frenchmen, notwthstanding in the Kings first comminge they resisted him feircelie to there possibilitie, yet at the last hauinge more confidence in the Kings mercie then in the assistance and ayde of there people, either in there owne strenght, condisceded to couenaunt wth the Kinge: that
 10 if wthin certaine daies appointed they were not reskewed of there people, they shoulde freelie deliuer to the Kinge both Towne and Castell, and in the meane time whilst this respite endured, there shoulde be no assaults, issewes or skirmishes one either partye. When this tearme prelimited was come, and the place not deliuered from this assiege by the Frenchmen, the captaines and inhabitants of the same deliuered to the Kinge both the Towne and the Castell, and themselues also, of whose goods nor persons none of the Englishmen were suffered violently to take, robb, dispoyle, touth or
 20 hurt. But altogether, giuinge there faith first to the Kinge, aboade still in there owne possessions, possessinge in joye and in peace all there faculties and substance in manner as they before had done. And all the souldiers that were sett there by the French Kinge for the defence of the Towne and Castell, of what cuntrie soeuer they were, were suffered peaceable to depart wth all there goods into what parts they woulde. Then the Kinge deputed captens both of the Towne and Castell, to whome he gaue authoritie to receaue the oaths of them, as well of that Towne as of all other Townes that resorted the-
 30 ther, that desired to liue vnder him and to knowe him for there Soueraigne Lorde. In little time all the cuntrie vntill the Cittie of Shenene¹ did fealtie vnto the Kinge and became his liegemen. The Englishmen after this tooke the Towne of Bolosme,² and the Towne and Castell of Fresway.³ And shortlie to recount, all the country, by a great circute, Citties, Townes and Castells, were brought vnder the Kings subiection. In this tyme, that noble and mightie Prince, the Duke of

¹ urbem Cennomanicam *Livius, i. e.* Le Mans.

² Bellême.

³ Fresnay; Freswey *Stow.*

Brittaine, (first promise and assurance to him made for his safe returne) accompanied of many of the greatest estats of his cuntrie, came vnto this most victorious Kinge; where, after diuers meanes of peace betwext them attempted and mooued, at the last they accorded vppon this appointment: that from the seauenth tenth daie of October¹ vntill the last day of September of the year that was to come betwext the Kinge and the saide Duke, there Lords, Knights and Subiects shoulde indure a truce and a respite of warr; and for the same time also the Kinge [granted]² to the Queene of Jerusa-¹⁰ lem and Sicile and to Lewis her sonn, whose ambassadors this Duke of Brittaine was vnto the Kings Ma^{tie} for the Dutchie of Aniowe,³ and the Dutchie of Shenen.⁴ In that time also the Dolphine of Fraunce desired to treat wth the Kinge for peace; to whose Ambassadors that shoulde be sent for that treaty the Kinge appointed the Towne of Tongue,⁵ whereunto they might surelie and safelie resort for the same treatie: wherefore also the Kinge sent his Ambassadors of the saide Dolphine. Amonge w^{ch}, after they were assembled and mett, were treated and moued many diuers meanes and waies for²⁰ the peace. And at the last the French Legatts offered to the Englishmen some acceptable offers of peace, wherevnto the Englishmen assented: but tofore the French Ambassadors woulde assure them of there offers, they saide they woulde speake to the Dolphine, and after returne to the Kinge, and bringe wth them faithfull assurance of their offers. And partlie accordinge to there promise not longe after they returned to the Kinge at the siege of Phalleys,⁶ where they erred so farr from there first offers that they departed w^{thout}⁷ a pointment of peace. Thus the Kinge, this entreaty hanginge,³⁰ departed from Alamsom, after it was obedient to his Emperie, and entred his journey towards the Towne and Castell of Phalleys to assiege the same. But first he sent before him

¹ a xv. Kal. Decembris (*sc.* 17th November) *Livius*; 17 day of October *Stow*. The date of the treaty was 16th Nov. (*Foedera*, ix. 511-14).

² *om. MSS.* ³ Anjou.

⁴ Cenomanniae comitatu (*sc.* County of Maine) *Livius*; *Stow omits this sentence.*

⁵ Touque.

⁶ Falaise.

⁷ wth *B.*; infecta pace *Livius*; *Stow abbreviates this passage.*

the Earle of Salisburie and manie other noblemen wth him to inclose the Frenchmen from issuinge out from those places, least for feare to be assieged they woulde depart and leaue the place voyde : but that was nothinge there intent, for to there power they resisted the Englishmens enterprise right mightelie, and made wth them manie battailes and skirmishes. They fortiefied all those places that were to be fortiefied. They made bullwarkes against there walls. They made there gates defensible wth gunns and other engins. And forasmuch as in
 10 the places of ditches they were invyroned wth greate and deepe valleys, wth there greate paine and laboure they brought the course of divers rivers of higher places into the same valleys, where in by prosesse of little time the water gathered and rose so highe, as it stooode before there valleys to the semblance of a little sea. The Castell, that was nighe adioyninge, was sett vppon a high rocke, w^{ch} serued the place of a wall, so as it seemed as inexpugnable. This Castell was fortified wth high walls and manie towers about the hight of a rocke.¹ All the
 20 bridges that were nighe about these places the Frenchmen brake and cast downe. They ordayned there watches, there wards, and there stacions. They suffred no time to be lost wth idleness. They left no work vndone that they thought to be necessarie for the resistinge of theire aduersaries. The first daie of December the Kinge wth the residewe of his hoast came before the Towne and Castell, where he ordered his siege in this manner : he caused his tents to be sett against the gate, w^{ch} ² ledd towards Cane ; the noble Duke of Clarence, his brother [he] ³ commaunded to lye before the Castell, notwth-
 30 standinge it seemed impregnable ; and his brother the Duke of Glocester he sett vppon his right hande tofore the Towne.
⁴ And also other Lords and Knights and Gentlemen wth there reteynewes, that were not in the companie of the Kinge and of the saide two Dukes,⁴ were deputed to other places in that siege, such as were convenient for them. No place of the Towne nor Castell was left free, but that it was oppressed and inclosed by siege. The inhabitants of the Towne, consideringe

¹ *supra ripam Livius; no doubt we should read supra rupem, as translated above.*

² and MSS. ³ *om. MSS.* ⁴ . . . ⁴ *reliquos proceres et Comites Livius.*

vndoubtedly this siege woulde not be dissolued vntill the Kinge had either taken the Towne by force or else that it were yealded vnto him by the inhabitants thereof, doubted right sore and were in greate agony what they shoulde doe for sauinge themselues. Neuertheles partly encouraged by the garrison and souldiers they deliuered not there Towne. But they resisted the Kings power right longe. When winter wth greate coldes greiued both man and beasts, the Kinge for releife of his people commaunded to be made for all his hoast, insteade of there tents, smale houses and edifices of tymbre; ¹⁰ w^{ch} when it was made seemed not a worsse Towne then that wthin the Walls. And least peraduenture any of there enemies would suddenly assault or invade his people, the Kinge caused to be made a broade and deepe ditch about all his tents and houses, wherevppon also was cast a thicke and highe bancke, wherein innumerable stakes, sharped both the ends, were fixed as thicke as need was. And that done he raysed his engins to confounde the walls of the Towne. And he appointed foryners and victualers to puruey sustenance for his hoast in greate Hollande, Danske,¹ and other parts.² ²⁰ The Frenchmen that were asseiged passed not there time in slought and ease; for besides all those great labours that they tooke vppon them for the munition and defence of there holds, they also right often issued both from the Towne and Castell, and made many greate assaults amonge there enemies tents; from whence not only wth the effusion of their owne blood, but also many times wth the loosinge of many of there lyues, they were constrained to returne, and in greate hast to take there holdes for there defence. And notwthstandinge that the sharpe winter afflicted³ both the parties maruel- ³⁰ ouslie sore (for all the waters in the valleys were frozen and congealed, in such manner that it seemed rather to be Christall or any hard stone then water. And that the manie and greate stormes of wyndes and rayne greued them right sore, and namely the Englishmen, whose lodgings were farr worse

¹ Danzig.

² *This is new; Livius has simply: quibusdam commeatum praefectis a rege dictis, quae ad omnem hominis victum spectant in castra vilissimo quoque precio habundantissime devehi portarique facit.*

³ afflicted *om. B.*; premeret *Livius*.

then the Frenchmens. Yet the Englishmen, as they that were more couetous of honnour then weary of payne, for no affection woulde desist of there enterprise begonn.¹ The inhabitants, seeinge the Englishmen for no aduersitie or payne to be wearyed or feared from their purpose, and that there walls by the English gunns and engins were often brought nigh to extremitie, fearing also to be assaulted in the example of the Towne of Caene, were rather deliberated to seeke for peace then to jeopardde the extreame perrills of the
 10 assiege. Notwthstanding every mans minde was not consenting thereto; by reason whereof the contrarious opynions moued amongst themselues a greate discencion and strife. And amongst all other one Oliuer Newney,² wth was capten both of the Towne and of the Castell, havinge greate confidence in the strenght of his Castell and supposed at all tymes when he pleased he might beat the Englishmen from his Towne wth his gunns and engins from the hight of his Castell, woulde in no wise condescend to anie comunicacion. Neuertheles the more part preuayled, in somuch as they appointed wth the
 20 Kinge in this manner: that if by the second day of January they were not succored and deliuered from the siege by there people, they shoulde freely deliuer to the Kinge there Towne. For the faithfull performaunce whereof they deliuered to the Kinge certen of the best men of the Towne in hostage. And when the time permitted was come, and they yet in dispayre of succour, the Towne of Phallies, wth gates opened, was deliuered to the Kinge, who commaunded that all the goods of the inhabitants, only of them that consented to the deliuerance of the Towne,³ shoulde remaine wholie to there former pos-
 30 sessors and owners wthout any diminution. And the goods of them that were obstinate and contrarious to this deliuerance of the Towne were vsed at the Kings pleasure, and persons commaunded to auoyde the Towne.⁴

⁵ At the deliuerance of this Towne the aforesaide capitaine

¹ *This sentence is an insertion by the Translator.*

² *His real name was Oliver de Manny. Livius calls him Oliverius de Nanney; Hearne by an error of transcription has Ulmerius.*

³ *illis maxime qui deditionis pacta voluerant Livius.*

⁴ *Ex contumacibus regiae majestati nonnulli sunt illinc abire jussi Livius. The Translator paraphrases rather freely.*

⁵ *Livius, pp. 48-9.*

Oliuer, capitaine of the Towne and Castell also, w^{ch} he induored him to keepe and defend against the Kinge, who then asseiged the same Castell about the ditches thereof much more straightly then he had beseiged the Towne. In the Towers and other smale Turretts that were betwext the Castell and the Towne¹ the Kinge sett his watches. And wthout the Towne, vnder the greate rocke that sustayned the Castell wall,² he sett manie noble and good men of warr. He commaunded his engynes to be raysed for the distruction of the walls; w^{ch}, for the hardnes of the rocke and for the height¹⁰ of the Castell, notwthstandinge that those engins were maruelous violent, profited nothinge; for they scarcely might skale the over walls that were aboute the rocke. The Kinge perceauinge himselfe not to proffitt in his gunns and other engins, caused to be made great bridges of wood; ³ w^{ch} wth much craft vppon wheelles, though the ditches were broad and deepe, he caused to be brought vnto the walls of the Castell; vnder w^{ch} bridges wth malletts, and pikes, and hammers, and other masonarie instruments, the Englishmen myned the same rocke for to subuert the walls that stoode vppon the²⁰ rocke, and others that had there standinge in other places not nighe the bridges; and namely one knight⁴ accumulated and heaped earth vppon earth vnder the side of the rocke, and by that meanes raysed the grounde so highe that it attayned to the foote of the wall, and was aboue the rocke, wherevppon the Englishmen assended. And by there craft they first pulled one stone from the saide wall, and after another, and then the thirde, and so they contynewed by longe space ever workinge. Then they provided themselues a place to wthdrawe them vnto from the dainger of the wall³⁰ for the fall, and also from the dainger of there enemies that were wthin the Castell. When this knight wth his companie had thus by his laboure of manie daies made an entry in the Castell in the saide wall, they of the Castell perceavinge there dilligence, the⁵ people of themselues made little faggotts of

¹ circa fossas, quae sunt inter oppidum et castellum *Livius*.

² quod instar castello murorum erat *Livius*.

³ ligneos pontes in vinearum pene morem *Livius*.

⁴ one knight *om. B.*

⁵ dilligence, and the *MSS.*

wodd and cast vppon them moulten pitch, brymstone, and saltpeeter; and after wth chaines of iron burninge hott they cast those faggotts vppon the Englishmen to burne them and to fyre¹ them from there worke, and to burne the stages of tymber that they had made ouer there heads for there defence.² But the Englishmen wth forkes of iron avoyded and cast away from the bridge and there stages the faggotts, fyre, and chaynes, and preserued there munitions from burninge; vnder w^{ch} they labored so dilligentlie that the walls began to
 10 fall, as well where the knight wth his companie, w^{ch} vnder there stages breakinge the walls, as where others vnder the bridges of tymber myninge the rocke, labored.³ Nor there was no rest to them that were assieged; for daylie and nightlie they were slayne wth stones that were cast; and wth shott from the Towne. They perceaued the walls to be myned, and themselues to be wearied and ouertrauelled wth watchinge and fightinge in the defence of the Castell; wherefore they desired a trewce of the Kinge, promisinge him to treat of peace, w^{ch} after manie supplicacions the Kinge graunted a
 20 peace accordinge to this manner: that if by the 6th ⁴ daye of February they were not succored of theire people, they shoulde February the vjth.
 deliuer to the Kinge theire Castell wth the aforesaide Oliuer, captaine of the same, and all his goods, and wth all there harnes, gunns, weapons, and all other engins wthin the Castell, consideringe the defence thereof, and wth all other thing wthin the same. And all the people within the Castell (the saide captaine only excepted) shoulde freelie goe vnarmed whether they woulde, and in the meane tyme the Kinge gaue them libertie to sende to theire freinds for succoure of deliuerance.
 30 But when at the time limited no succoure appeared, the Castell wth the saide Oliuer, wth all the goods in the same Castell, were deliuered to the Kinge, who commaunded this Oliuer for his obstinacie to be dilligently and straightly kept

¹ *Perhaps we should read fear; deterrendos Livius.*

² *The final clause is an addition of the Translator.*

³ *A free paraphrase: sed igne praedicto labari moenia incipiunt, et intus in oppido qui pontibus et malleis rupem effodiunt jam muris ruinae maximum exordium fecerant Livius.*

⁴ *The date should be 16th February. See Articles ap. Collections of a London Citizen, p. 259, and Foedera, ix. 541.*

in bonds, vntill the Castell, w^{ch} was sore appayred by there assaultes, were plenaryly repayred and reedified at the proper costs of the saide Oliuer.¹

² Then the Kinge, after he had deputed to the Towne and Castell other captens wth sufficient garrisons, apparrelled his hoast to remooue. When nowe the time of Lent was present, wherein this Kinge shoulde serue God in prayers, vigilles, abstinences, and other holly and godly works, he disposed him to attend thereto with quiet and rest of his bodie. And that the warrs in the meane time shoulde not be delayed, he ¹⁰ gaue the charge thereof to his two bretheren, the Dukes of Clarence and of Glocester, in his place and by his authority to oppresse and correct the rebbells, and to subdewe his aduersaries to his empire, to conquer and gett his stronge holds of the countrie, to reduce his people to his obeysance. And if peradventure any of them shoulde haue need to haue ayde and succoure of him he woulde abide, duringe that Lent, in such a place that he in his person might assist him in there neede. And that place that he electe for himselfe was the Cittie of Beauce.³

20

⁴ The puissant Duke of Clarence wth his armed power conquered in this time ⁵ the Townes and Castells of Hariecourt, Fagnon, Tiuill, Cambrice, Courton,⁶ and diuers others, and also the stronge Abbey of Bikillrenan,⁷ the strongest rebell of all those parts. All w^{ch} places that mightie Duke of Clarence wth assiege, assalts, oppressions, and fayre communications, legacions, and by obseruinge his promise to them made, in short time he subdued to ⁸ the Kings Empire. But what was done at euerie of these places I write not, because the circumstaunces thereof be not come to my hands ³⁰ or knowledge. But of them all I shall only saye this: that

¹ *Stow has only a brief account of the siege of the Town, and omits that of the Castle altogether.*

² *Livius*, p. 49.

³ Bayeux; urbs Baiocensis *Livius*.

⁴ *Livius*, p. 49.

⁵ *Citty MSS.*: time *Stow*.

⁶ Harcourt, Chambrice, and Courtonne are plain. 'Fagnon' is perhaps Pontauton; *Livius* reads Fagnou, the *Pseudo-Elmham* (p. 140) Fagarnon. Tiuill is probably Thiberville; Danville or Truville in *Livius*; Tywyll *Pseudo-Elmham*.

⁷ Bec Hellouin; Bekellwyn *Livius*; Bikilrom *Stow*.

⁸ to om. *B*.

whatsoever golde, or ritches, silver, pretious stones, or rich apparrell, and all other things that wthin Harecourt, w^{ch} the Duke had taken by assault, was by the Kinge geuen to the Duke in recompence of his laboure and manhoode.

¹ And that mightie Duke Humfry of Glocester was sent to the Isle of Constantine,² in the w^{ch} entrie of his first Journey by his wisdom he obtayned the stronge Castle of Caudy³ against his aduersaries; and from thence he went to the Towne of Castle of Vire, th'inhabitants whereof, seeinge that
¹⁰ they were not able to resist his power nor havinge any assurance of reskewe, yealded them wth all there goods to the Duke, and to⁴ live vnder the Kings obeysance. The Castell of Turney⁵ woulde not assaye the streight of the Englishmen, but yealded them to the Duke. The Towne of Saint Lowe,⁶ after this noble Duke had ordayned his assiege wth the subberbs thereof, wthin fewe daies yealded them to the Duke, and by that meanes obtayned of him a sure peaces. The Castell of St. Sauour Leuont⁷ not abydyng the siege obeyed to the Duke for the Kinge. At his first comminge to
²⁰ Valloges⁸, after the assiege was sett, the engins raysed, and the trenches and mynes begonne, submitted him to the Duke for the Kinge. He tooke also the Castells of Breckourt⁹ and Whoo¹⁰. All these holdes taken the Duke intended to goe to Sherbroughe¹¹, a Towne aboue of all these of streight and marvelous greate defence, w^{ch} was wthin the precinct to him lymitted; but in the beginninge of that his journey he was commaunded to retourne to the Kinge, w^{ch} commaundment he obeyed; whereby for that time that journey ceased. The most Christian King Henrie was duringe this time wthin the
³⁰ Castell of Bayeux wth his companie, wthout whome he might not conveniently haue bene, where he attended to watches, prayers, to abstynences, and generally to all good workes besides. That notwthstandinge duringe all the time he sent

¹ *Livius*, pp. 50-1.

² The Côtentin; insulam Constantini *Livius*.

³ Condé-sur-Noireau; Cauday *Livius*.

⁴ to *om. B.* ⁵ Thorigny. ⁶ St.-Lô.

⁷ St.-Sauveur-le-Vicomte; Saint Sauueur le Visconte *Livius*.

⁸ Valognes; Valoignes *Livius*; Valeiges *Stow*.

⁹ Briquebec; Brekuek or Briquebec *Livius*; Breckcourt *Stow*.

¹⁰ Néhou; Nehoo *Livius*; Who *Stow*. ¹¹ Cherbourg.

of¹ his owne company the noble Earle of Huntingdon to subdue to his Ma^{tie} certen defensible places, w^{ch} wthin short time he manly reduced vnder the Kings obeysance, as he had in commaundment to doe. The Kinge sent also the Earle of Warwick wth another company of men of warr to asseige the stronge castell of Dounfront², w^{ch} was builded vppon the hight of a highe and roughe rocke, very harde: and the walls of this Castell were so highe, that it feared not the shott of gunns, nor skalinge of ladders, nor none other assault of there enemies. When this wise Earle perceaved³ the strenght¹⁰ of the Castell, he deliberated by proces of time to wyynn them by hunger and thirst. And for that cause he first prouided for victualls for his companie, and assigned⁴ certen wise men only to attend for victualls for his hoast. And that done, he set his siege in such places as he thought most convenient and most easy for his people, and most preiudiciall for his aduersaries. He caused ditches to be made about the Castell, so that the Frenchmen might haue no issue, neither to gett victualls nor yet to assault the Englishmen.⁵ But whatsoeuer prouision of victualls the noble Earle made for his owne²⁰ companie, hunger troubled them so sore that wthout any speed of there journey they had departed thence, had not this wise Earle wth his prudence purueyed a medicen for that sore. He sent foragers and purveyors in all possible hast in greate aboundance to acquire victualls for his hoast, whome in the meane time he exorted to abide and to see th'ende of there enterprise, sayinge vnto them that the honnour they shoulde gett by the atchivinge of there enterprise shoulde farr exceede the same payne of there hunger.⁶ And when the foragers and victuallers were returned, the Englishmen were encouraged³⁰ with the receipt of there newe victualls; and to the contrarie

¹ for *B.*; *De suo tamen latere Livius.*

² Domfront.

³ perceavinge *B.*

⁴ asseiged *MSS.*

⁵ and most preiudiciall . . . Englishmen, *inserted by the Translator, who omits the following sentence: Tum excursiones et insidias, in nemoribus hostium commeatui obsidentium frequenter habitas, solertia sua perdomuit et penitus amovit. Stow abbreviates all this passage.*

⁶ *The Translator paraphrases freely: Fuisset et inde infecta re penitus abundum, nisi comes prudentissimus huic morbo sua prudentia medelam attulisset, et Anglici minoris longe famem quam honoris jacturam minimam duxissent.*

there aduersaries were more and more oppressed by hunger. Wherefore in brief time they couenaunted wth the saide Earle : that if at the 22th day of June they were not dissolued from this asseige, they shoulde yealde them to the saide Earle for the Kinge. And when that day was come, and no succour knowne, the Castle was deliuered to this mightie Prince.

¹ The Duke of Glocester, after he had bene wth the Kinge, had repressed his journey towards Shearbrough.² The capitaine of the same, havinge knowledge of his purpose, and other
 10 noble men, that were deputed by the French for the defence of that place, assembled out of all places the strongest men of warr in maruelous greate number, that might be gotten for the resistaunce of the Englishmen and for the defence of the Towne. And whereas they had greate and large subberbs wthout the Towne-walls, because the Englishmen shoulde not be lodged in them, they burned them and made them equall wth the grounde. They repayred there towers and there walls. They fortiefied there Towne wth gunns and other engins. They brake and distroyed the bridge that ledd ouer
 20 the river wthout the Towne.³ This Towne was fortified wth innumerable tuytions and defences ; the most part thereof was enclosed wth the fludds of the sea ; and the residue thereof was compassed wth a broade ditch ; and wthin that was a greate and stronge wall well fortified and garnished wth stronge turrets ; and a greate fludd, that environed a greate parte of the Towne and also of the Castell, fortified maruelously the Towne. And to this Towne also belonged a stronge and defensible hauen, wherein there shipps might surely lie, and the same hauen was also greate strenght to the Towne.⁴
 30 The Castell of this Towne was enclosed wth 16 greate and stronge towers and turrets. It was fortified wth dubble walls and wth deepe and broade ditches. In this Castell, and also in the Towne, were an innumerable ordinaunces and engins of warr.⁵ This victorious Duke, tofore he approached the

¹ *Livius*, pp. 51-56 ; *Stow* gives only a short abbreviation.

² Dum Caesarisburgum proficisceretur dux Gloucestriae strenuissimus *Livius*.

³ pontem quandam pelagi rumpere *Livius*.

⁴ *The Translator expands this from* navibusque suis portum facere.

⁵ *The Translator expands ;* castellum ejus sexdecim pulcherrimis

Towne, sent wise men and manly knights to view and espie this place and situacion thereof, and to bringe him worde in what place he might assiege it to his most advantage and to the greatest oppression of the Towne; w^{ch} knights, when they were returned, reported to the Duke that both the Towne and Castell were inexpugnable; but that report discouraged not the Duke, nor delayed him not from the pursuite of his purpose. But wth firme faith to atchive his enterprise, he went tofore the Towne wth all his people. Where the Duke fortun'd to be lodged in a certen little house, best of all the 10 other, as it was convenient for his estate. And all other were lodged in vplandish cots,¹ such as they coulede finde. And the next day they approached nighe vnto the Towne, wherevnto they sett there asseige. Howebeit at there first comminge they asseiged it not on all partes; forasmuch as the inhabitants had broken the bridge wthout the Towne, the Englishmen were depriv'd of there passage ouer the river.² There were also many heapes of sand, w^{ch} was so subtile and smale, that it mooued wth everie wynde; wherewth the Englishmen were so encombred, for every winde blewe it in there 20 faces and eyes, that they were letted to sett there sege in that place.³ Neuertheles the Duke sent to those places diuers times armed men to watch that the Frenchmen shoulde nothinge doe there, that shoulde be preiudiciall to the hoast, and to enclose the Towne from the liberties of the sea, that they shoulde receaue nothinge by water that shoulde be for there comfort.⁴ The wise Duke sent for a sufficient nauy of shippes and of men of warr out of the Kings Isles of Gurnesey and Gurse^y⁵; w^{ch}, when it was come,⁶ the Duke commaunded to lye betwixt the Towne and the sea. And 30 because the feelde wherein the Englishmen lay was all playne wthout hill or other defence, they of the Towne had from

turribus vallatum duplicibus moenibus propugnaculisque munitum esse *Livius*.

¹ rustica diverticula *Livius*.

² *Stow's abbreviation stops here.*

³ Erant harenae praeterea cumuli ad ipsa loca non minimi, vento instabiles, illuc modo modo istuc ventorum flatibus agitati, qui non habere sinebant Anglicos his in locis certa stabiliaque diverticula *Livius*.

⁴ *This is the punctuation of the Translator. But probably there should be a full stop at hoast, and a comma at comfort; as in the Latin.*

⁵ Guernsey and Jersey.

⁶ come to B.

euery place open shott wth there gonns into the hoast. Whereby the Englishmen were sore trauelled and letted from the preparinge of the engins, and also from shootinge of there ordinaunces. Wherevpon the Duke breifely prepared this remedie, and thereof gaue charge to diuers of his knights to see it done. He commaunded in the beginninge of the next night that euerie three persons of the hoast should bringe from the next wood a slidd laden wth greate stakes and wth other greate peeces of greene¹ wood into there lodges. At
 10 w^{ch} commaundment there was brought so much greene wood and stakes in the first night, that therewth they made a bulwarke betweene them and the Towne all the lenght of theire felde and of a sufficient height and thicknes to defende them from the ordinance of the Towne. And wth theire greate stakes w^{ch} they fixed in the grounde they vndersett and sustayned there saide bullwarke from breakinge or fleeinge backwards vpon them by the violence of the Frenchmens gunns.² And when the inhabitants of the Towne perceaued in the morninge this maruelous and politique art and laboure to be
 20 done in one night, they gaue them to right great maruaile; and to breake and ouerthrowe that greate bullwarke they oftentimes shott there greate gunns, and cast wth there most violent engins stones of incredible quantitie; but all there trauell was in vaine, for the bullwarke was so greate and so well vndersett,³ that it feared no shott nor castinge of stones. Then the Frenchmen, perceauinge there shott to be spent in vaine, imagined a newe manner of shott insteade of stones; they shott greate peeces of steele fire-hott,⁴ wherein was so greate heate that they burned not onely the wood but also
 30 the earth; and wth this manner newe imagined shott in short time they burned and destroyed the greater part of the Englishmens bullwarks, who for the defence of the same tooke maruelous greate paines; some rann to the wood and brought to increase and renewe the bullwarks, where it was perished, and some other carried water and cast vpon the

¹ greate *B.*; carpentum honeratum viridi minime grossisque palis *Livius*.

² This sentence is a gloss by the Translator.

³ *Livius* has simply: Erat namque tantus agger, ut, &c.

⁴ globos calibis igne candentes *Livius*.

fyre. Then the Duke wth all the possible dilligence commaunded to be made trenches in the earth to conserue his people from the dainger of shott. He commaunded also that the greate peecees of tymber and much greate wood to be brought from the wood in [to the]¹ trenches, to couer therewth their caues and lodges for the resistance of the gunns, that were shott continewally from the Towne.² W^{ch} thinge when it was seene of them in the Towne, they were amaruelled much more then tofore. And this most prudent Prince, that had the charge of the asseige, because he shoulde not be ¹⁰ frustrate and disappointed of the enterprise by constraint of hunger or thirst, nor by default of anie thinge that shoulde be necessarie for his hoast by the longe continuaunce of the asseige, ordeyned a market to be kept in the felde, wherein was to be solde as well victualls as all other things needfull to so greate a company. And because the Frenchmen wthin the Towne shoulde make no suddaine assault nor inuasions amongst his people, this Duke made to be cast deepe ditches betwext the felde and the Towne, wherewth he inclosed them from all issues on that part ; by meanes whereof the victualls ²⁰ were much surer from the dainger of the Frenchmen. And also there came forrageors w^{ch} had the better assurance of there enemies. And for because the course of the sea, that daily flowed aboute the Towne, suffered not the Englishmen. to approach the walls of the same, the Duke commaunded to assemble all laborers out of all parts that might be gotten, w^{ch} by there labour brought that arme of the sea from his accustomed course into another course that they deuised for it. And by greate damms and banks they kept it in out of his olde course. But notwthstandinge all there pollicy and ³⁰ laboure at euerie chainge of the moone³ the sea flowed so highe that it brake the damms that they had made, and the sea returned to his accustomed course. Then the Duke commaunded euerie man of his hoast to take in his hand a spade or shouell and therewth to cast the earth tofore them into the ditches, that by that meanes they might attaine to the walls. And at this commaundment the Englishmen were so

¹ *om. MSS.*² *The Translator paraphrases freely.*³ *luna cum sole conjuncta Livius.*

ardent in there laboure, that wthin short time the accumulacion of the earth wthin the ditch was nighe as highe as the walls ; w^{ch} thinge done the Englishmen made greate frames and stages of timber, vnder w^{ch} they approached the walls to assault the Towne ; but the shott of the Towne was so greate and thicke, that it brake there frames in peeces so that none of the English were suffered to abide vnder the same frames ; but either they were slayne wth the fall of there owne frames, or by the castinge of stones out of slings, or else by the shott
 10 of gunns. Thus the Englishmen voyde of their inquests were constrayned wth their losse to returne from there assault. And when in like manner the Frenchmen were wthdrawne into there houses to rest them of there greate laboure, the Englishmen all readily armed, not takinge any repose, seeinge they coulede not proffit to assaulte the Towne, rann into the myne that they tofore had begunne. And therein at no season ceast to laboure in purpose to subuert the walls of the Towne by this meanes ; in w^{ch} mynes they fought and laboured so ardently, as they might scarcely be
 20 mooued from the ruyne and distruction of the walls for no pirrills nor resistance of their enemies. And namely one Lowes Robsarte, whome the Kinge had made knight at the siege of Cane, wth manie a stronge Englishman mightelie fought and laboured in the same myne. But at the last by the dilligent laboure and manly resistance of the Frenchmen they were so sore trauelled and laboured that of necessetie they must returne to their tents.¹ And when they had thus asseiged Sesarborough² almost five monethes, and had sore oppressed the Frenchmen both by land and by water, and
 30 that there mynes wthin the earth were brought almost vnto the walls of the Towne, the Frenchmen, wearied of so longe a siege and not havinge sufficient of victualls, were constrayned to treate of peace ; and because that Towne appeared most of streinght of anie other Towne in that circute, notwthstandinge they asked most arrogantly the respitt of manie daies, the Duke graunted vnto them truce for lxij³ daies next fol-

¹ *Fatigatique tandem infecta re redeunt in oppidum Livius.*

² Cherbourg ; Caesarioburgum *Livius.*

³ *An error for xliij ; duos et quadraginta Livius. The Pseudo-Elmham*

lowinge; vpon condicion that, if by the ende of the terme they were not rescued by the Frenchmen, they shoulde deliuer to the Duke there Castell, there Towne, and all there holdes, and there bodies also, and in the meane time they shoulde haue libertie to sende for succour to the Dolphine in Guyan¹, and also to John the Duke of Burgonie, w^{ch} at that time laye in Parris; and thoughe that sometimes some displeasure had bin tofore time betwixt those two Princes, yet at this great neede they both assembled right greate hoasts entendinge to come to deliuer the Towne. The Englishmen that were at 10 that asseige beleueed for trueth that the Frenchmen woulde haue come to haue resisted this asseige rather then to suffer so stronge a Towne [to be yealded]² to the hands of there enemies. This puissant Prince, captaine of the assiege, consideringe that the assiege and the number of his people were not comparable to the number of those two hoasts, of his engins³ caused to be made⁴ greate and deepe ditches wth high and stronge banks sett full of sharpe stakes, not only towards the Towne but also one all sides of his field. He caused to be made also many stronge block houses of tymber, 20 like vnto turrets, to defende his people from the assaulte of theire enemies, if peraduenture they come to arrayse this siege. He fortified maruelouslie the market place, where victualls and all other things necessary were to be sould for the comfort of his hoast. And whatsoeuer things he coulde imagine to be avayleable to his companie and for the oppressinge of his aduersaries, or in any thing for the assurance of his people, he caused it to be done wth all dilligence possible. In the meane time this victorious Kinge Henrie layde the siege tofore Roane⁵ the Master⁶ Cittie of all Normandie, 30 from whence to depart wthout subduinge the same he thought it shoulde redownd to his dishonour. Notwthstandinge he

Roane
the chiefe
Cittie in
all Nor-
mandie.

(pp. 177-9) describes the negotiations as at first abortive, but as resulting finally in a truce for six weeks.

¹ Guienne; Aquitaniam *Livius*.

² *om. MSS.*; redditum iri *Livius*.

³ of his engins, an interpolation; there is nothing to correspond in *Livius*.

⁴ made to B.; *Livius* has fossas ingentes, simply.

⁵ Rouen.

⁶ B. apparently M^{rs} (mistress); totius Normannie capud *Livius*.

knewe all the perrils ¹ of his Brother and his companie that were to come, if so greate a number shoulde come to rayse the siege of Sesarboroughe, wherefore he wrote into Englande to certen Gentlemen towards the west parts, commaundinge them immediatly to send ayde to the Duke of Glocester tofore Caesarboroughe; accordinge to whose commaundement two thousande chosen men were shipped in thirtie shippes, and wth a fortunate wynde were brought to lande in the hauen of Caesarboroughe, but more nighe vnto the Dukes company.

10 And when the Frenchmen wthin the Towne sawe the landinge of so manie armed men, wth joy they gaue thanks vnto the Immortall God, supposinge for truth that they hadd bin sent for theire deliuerance and for there ayde. And in this greate joy they assended the walls to beholde them more at there pleasure; but when they perceaued them enter the Englishmens lodges, and that they were freindlie receaued of the Duke and of his company, forthwth there joy was turned into lamentacion and sorrowe, seeinge before there eyes there euident desolacion. And at the last, at the xxth ² day of

20 September, they were not releued by there people. The Towne and the Castell wth all there goods, as they had couenaunted, were deliuered to the Duke for the Kinge. And when he established the Towne and the Castell, and put in them captaines and garrisons to keepe them in the Kings obeysance, and had ordered and purveyed euerie thinge that coulede be thought necessarie, this noble Duke departed thence and went to the Kinge, who at that time laye at Roane.

³ Whilst these things were thus doing in Fraunce the Scottish

30 people, allwaies aduersaries to the Englishmen, knowing the Kings absence and consideringe the time nowe to be convenient for there purpose, wth a greate companie of armed men inuaded the realme of England in the farthest part of the North; and most cruelly they gaue to the sword and to the fire all that they might obtaine vnto. Then the noble men of Englande, to whome the Kinge had geuen charge to defende

The
Scotts
inuade
Englande.

¹ parts *B.*; *perricula Livius.*

² *A mistake for xxixth*; ad iii Kal. Octobris *Livius in the best MS.*, ad Kal. Octobris *in others.*

³ *Livius*, p. 56.

the saide North parts, gathered an hoast of an hundred thousand men, w^{ch} all made greate dilligence to fight wth there enemies. And at that time by fortune the Duke of Exeter, vnckle to the Kinge, w^{ch} had sent vnto the Duke of Gloucester¹ a companie of armed men, as it is aforesaide, was come on pilgrimage into those parts where the Scotts were entered into England. And when this greate hoast of the Englishmen were assembled to battaile to there enemies, the same Duke tooke in charge to order and to conduct them. Th'arch-bishopp of York, w^{ch} for his greate age might not indure to ¹⁰ ride vppon a horse, like as a good olde man caused himselfe to be brought to the English hoast in his chayre, to comfort and incourage the harts of the people that they shoulde more ardentlie defend there countrie. And when the battailes were ordered after the manner of Englande they aduaunced them towards there enemies, w^{ch} fearinge so greate power of the Englishmen fledd and returned into there owne countries in Scotland. Then when all these thinges were in good suertie towards the North, the saide Duke of Exeter wth a chosen companie of men of warr tooke his shippes and sayled into ²⁰ Normandie, where he landed and tooke his journey towards Roane to the Kinge; in w^{ch} journey he wan the Cittie of Ebroicen.²

³ Nowe we shall returne to the Kinges Ma^{tie}, w^{ch} perseuered the whole Lent, and also the solemnitie of Easter in prayers, abstinences, vigiles, almes deedes, and other charitable deedes,⁴ wthin the Towne of Bayuxe, from whence he after Easter went to Cane, where he solemnized the feast of Saint George, as the custome of Kinges of England hath aunciently been. At w^{ch} feasts he made xv. Knights of the Bath.⁵ And that ³⁰ done he deliberated to goe to Roane, the chiefe and principall Cittie of Normandy, notwthstandinge that his companie was

¹ *This is an assumption by the Translator: qui nuper exercitum conscripserat ad instaurandam militum manum qui viriliter in Gallia bellabatur Livius.*

² Evreux; urbem Ebroicensem *Livius*; Ebroiciens *Stow*, who for this paragraph follows partly the Translator, and partly Otterbourne, pp. 279, 280.

³ *Livius*, pp. 56-60.

⁴ workes *H.*; here *B.* leaves a blank, apparently accidental.

⁵ *An insertion by the Translator, from the Brut* (p. 384); adopted by *Stow*, who adds some of the names.

greatlie minished by the absence of the Duke of Glocester, that lay there before Caesarboroughe, and the Earle of Warwicke, that then asseiged the Castell of Donnfront. Neuertheles the Kinge departed from Cane the ixth¹ day of June, and tooke his voyage wth all his people that were left vnto him towards the Cittie of Roane. In w^{ch} journey, because it was not farr out of his way, he first layed siege to the Towne of Louers,² where he ordayned watches and wards for feare of sodaine invasions of there enemies. And notwthstandinge the Towne
 10 was fortiefied wth triple³ walls, and mayne towers, and smale turrets, wth gunns of euery fashion and quallitie, and almost wth innumerable engins and torments, and as well defensibie as inuasieue; yet the Englishmen and there engins and shott acquired so much leasure, that (maugre there enemies) they raised there pauillions and tents; they rayseed also a certen engine of tymber, vnder w^{ch} manie labored to myne the earth and to make there entrie vnder the walls, and some others labored to subuert and ouerthrowe the walls, and to make entrie into the Towne aboue the ground. And all these
 20 laborers this engine defended from dainger of there aduersaries. And manie of the Englishmen labored to fill the great ditch wth tymber and earth to make passage to the walls. The Frenchmen made manie issues and manly assaults vpon there enemies, betwext whome were manie greate battailes and skirmishes, but alwaies wth there greate losse and receauinge of greate woundes the Frenchmen were constrayned to recoyle them wthin the Towne. One day the Frenchmen fearinge that engine, whereof I spake tofore, vnder w^{ch} the Englishmen wrought,⁴ and suspected by the same there vtter
 30 distruction to approach, ouerthrowe and cast downe the great part of the third wall⁵ directly against the same engine. Wth greate force they rann wth instruments to breake the same. At w^{ch} enterprise the strenght and manhoode of the French was proued. The English hasted them wth all parts to defend there engins, so that betwext them and the Frenchmen was at

¹ xixth *B.*; quinto Idus Junias *Livius*; ninth of June *Stow.*

² Louviers; Louars *Stow.*

³ tirrible *B.*; terrible *H.*; triplici muro *Livius.*

⁴ whereof . . . wrought, an *insertion by the Translator.*

⁵ magnam muri partem ruunt *Livius.*

that time a right cruell deadly conflicte. The Frenchmen payned themselues to resist the Englishmens forces, vntill the distruction of this engine. And the Englishmen indeauored them to slea the Frenchmen, for the conseruacion of the same. But at lenth the Frenchmen, faylinge of power to resist the Englishmens force, were constrayned to returne into the Towne, leauinge the saide engine whole and vnbroken; but first manie wounds were receaued on both parts. After a time the Frenchmen seeinge themselues more and more oppressed greuoulie by the Englishmen, consideringe also ¹⁰ that the Kinge desisted not from any siege begunn wthout the obtayninge of his purpose; and, notwthstandinge that there place was maruelous defencible and stronge, deliberated rather to proue the Kings goodnes and mercie, then this assiege, whereof they desired to treat wth the Kinge for peace. At w^{ch} intreatie they couenaunted wth the Kinge in this manner: that if they were not deliuered from this asseige by the xxiiijth of June, they shoulde freelie yealde to the Kinge the Towne and Castell, and the garrison of that place shoulde serue the Kinge a certen time for his money after the custome then vsed.¹ ²⁰ The inhabitants of the Towne shoulde abide there continewally vnder the obeysaunce of the Kinge, inioyinge all there goods and possessions as they did tofore, wthout anie iniurie to be done vnto them by the Englishmen; and that all there gunners, and all other that shott or cast stones by there engins amongst the Englishmen shoulde be deliuered to the Kinge to be hanged vppon this appointment. When the day lymitted was come, and no succour come to the Towne, there couenaunts on both parties were obserued. At this siege the Cardinall Vrsinys,² Ambassador for the Duke of Burgonie, ³⁰ came to the Kinge; but betwext them was no appointment. Wherefore wth much honnor and greate giftes geuen to him by the Kinge he returned to the Duke from this Towne wth great hast. At the xxij³ day of June, and tofore the day of the deliuerance of the Towne, leauinge part of his hoast to continewe the siege and to receaue the Towne at the

¹ regiis stipendiis quibusdamque legibus inter eos habitis per aliquot tempora sub rege militabunt *Livius*.

² Cardinal Orsini, *cf. Foedera*, ix. 599.

³ 27th June, more correctly in *Pseudo-Elmham*, p. 170.

day appointed,¹ the Kinge wth the residue of his hoast went to lay his siege tofore Portlarge,² by the middle whereof the Riuer of Seene hath his course; when the Kinge had laied his siege to the one part of the Towne, he could haue no passage ouer the river to laye siege to the other side of the same, for the bridge that was wthout the Towne³ was defended wth a stronge tower, wherein was a garrison of Frenchmen wth gunns and other artillerie for the defence thereof. And also the Frenchmen, tofore the Kings comminge, had drowned one
 10 the further part of the riuer from the Kinge all the boates that were belonginge to the river, except such as they kept wthin the Towne for there own vse; by reason whereof the one halfe of the Towne was free wthout siege, as the aforesaide tower that defended the bridge, w^{ch} stode on the further side of the riuer from the Englishmen.⁴ The garrisons of the Frenchmen made surely and wthout dainger their assemblies, and from thence they hadd passage ouer the bridge to the English hoast to assault them in there tents; and by the same bridge they had there recourse to the aforesaide tower, when they were
 20 pursued by there enemies; vppon trust whereof the Frenchmen made manie issues vppon there enemies, but at all tymes they were chased to there houlds to there owne losse, and not wthout receauinge manie wounds on both parts. The Kinge, w^{ch} had not esperance to subdue the Towne except he might sett his assiege to the Towne on all parts, w^{ch} he might not doe for the saide riuer, commaunded diuers of his hoast, such as were expert in swymminge, by there streinght to drawe vpp⁵ those boats that were drowned of the Frenchmen of the further side of the water; but there aduersaries perceauinge
 30 there enterprise rann in greate hast vnto them, and wth shott and castinge of stones letted them of there purpose;⁶ then

¹ and tofore . . . appointed an interpolation by the Translator, no doubt to explain the discrepancy of the dates.

² Pont-de-l'Arche; Pontlarche *Livius*, and *Stow*.

³ that was without the towne an interpolation by the Translator, adopted by *Stow*.

⁴ The Translator here handles his original very freely; all this passage from And also to the Englishmen is an interpolation based on his interpretation of the rest of the Latin text. *Stow* omits it.

⁵ longis grossisque funibus colligatas . . . emergi jubet *Livius*.

⁶ This clause is another interpolation by the Translator.

the Kinge, seeinge this deuise tooke none effect, commaunded in all hast possible to make boates of smale wickers, and when they were made to be inclosed in beasts skins ; and because this counsell shoulde not come to his aduersaries, he ordayned these boats to be made at the Abbey of Donport,¹ where much of his companie lay ; while these boats were finished and made, the Kinge gaue charge to the Duke of Clarence by these boats to convey him and his people ouer the water to assiege the other part of the Towne. Then this noble wise Duke, at the 5th day of the moneth of July,² in the night longe before 10 daye by a signe made vnto them at the lighteninge of a fire in a certen highe place³ commaunded a greate companie, such as coulde swime, when they shoulde see that light, to enter the river wth greate noyse and bruite at a certaine place to them appointed, wth was three thousand paces distant from the Towne. And when accordinge to the Dukes commaundment they were entered into the river, before they hadd passed the one halfe thereof, manie Frenchmen one horsebacke came to them as fast as was possible to lett them of there passage. And in the meane time betwixt them the Duke cast his smale 20 boates wth his companie into the riuer, and passed ouer secretlie in greate number ; whereof when the Frenchmen, that were gonn to defend the riuer, vnderstoode they returned hastelie, and assembled there engins and standards, and in a fielde nighe vnto the Englishmen they embattelled there companie, and disposed them to fight. But when they perceaued such a multitude of there aduersaries on the same side of the riuer wth them, they thought more surelie to wthdrawe them then to fight, and in that opinion they tooke there horses and returned to there houldes ; whom the Englishmen, wth were all 30 on foot, must of necessitie suffer to passe at there pleasure. Then the noble Duke of Clarence wth all his companie, leauinge the chase of there enemies, whome they might not ouertake for the aduantage of there horsse, hasted him to assiege the residue of the Towne, that then was without siege, and

¹ Bonport *Livius*.

² The true date was 4th July, as given by Clarence in a letter to the City of London (*J. Delpit, Collection des Documents français*, p. 222). The *Pseudo-Elmhams* (p. 173) has *Julii luce quarta*.

³ de quadam turri *Livius*.

the tower vppon the bridge, whereof I spake tofore. To w^{ch} places he set his siege at one time and that fortunatlie. Then the most deuoute Kinge, hauinge knowledge hereof, fell vppon his knees and gaue thanks in greate deuotion to the immortal God; and because the Seene deuided his hoast, whereby if either partie shoulde haue neede of th'other they could not come together for the riuier, the Kinge caused to be made so manie square boates of the wicker aforesaide, w^{ch} he caused to be tyed together and cast into the riuier, that of them he
 10 made a bridge by w^{ch} the one part of the hoast might surely resort to the other, when neede required. When th'inhabitants and garrisons perceaued them thus inuironed wth there enemies in all parts, and in dispaire to receiue anie succoure of the Frenchmen, they deliberated rather to submitt themselves to the King, then to aduenture the fortune of the assiege. Wherefore they thus agreed wth the Kinge: that, if wthin xv. dayes they were not deliuered from this assiege, they shoulde deliuer to the Kinge the Towne and the Castell; and when that day ¹ was come, and no succoure appeared, they deliuered
 20 the Towne and the Castell to the Kinge as they had promised. And this was the first bridge ouer the riuier of Seene that the Kinge subdued to his power.²

³ After that this invincible Kinge had thus obtayned and gotten this bridge ouer the riuier of Seene, and that there was none other river or flood might lett his journey, with all the hast and prouision that he might he entered his iourney towards Roane,⁴ where of the situacion is such: it standeth
 nigh to a plaine fielde nighe adioynge to a hill, it is in-
 uironed wth highe and thicke walls, and wthout those walls be
 30 broad and deepe ditches, and besides that the Riuier of
 Seene compasseth all most all the Cittie; the Castell of this
 Cittie is so stronge and defensible that it exceedeth all other
 Castells wthin the Countrie. This Cittie is verie large, and at

¹ videlicet xiii. Kal. Sextilis (20th July) *Livius*.

² *Stow somewhat abbreviates this account of the siege of Pont-de-l'Arche.*

³ *Livius*, pp. 60, 61.

⁴ *Stow follows the Translator, but omits from whereof to against their aduersaries on p. 122. Then continuing with slight variations to the end of the paragraph.*

that time it was verie well garnished wth cittizens, knights, men of armes, and souldiers; for besides the inhabitants and besides those garrisons that were assigned by the French kinge for the tuition thereof, a greate part of the people that were inhabited in the playne countrie nigh to the Cittie, and namely men of reputacion, were fledd into that Cittie for refuge, so that at that time it was maruelouslie well peopeled.¹ In this Cittie fayled no manner of gunns, engins, artillery, or anie defensible instruments, that coulde be thought fitt or necessarie for there defence. There was maruelous plentie¹⁰ of gunns of euerie quantitie, bowes and arbalesters, in euerie of the walls and gates and in the streets; they wanted no armes, quarells, nor stones for ther bowes, gunns, and engins; but generally of all things that might be imagined for the defence of the Cittie and Castell, and for the preiudice of

Note this. there enemies they had store aboundantie. These Frenchmen hidd and couered vnder strawe and grasse, in the waies where Englishmen shoulde come, boordes stricken full of nayles, the points cast vpwards, to pearce and wounde both the feet of men and beasts. They also cast wthout the walls manie²⁰ calltrapps of iron for like purpose. In the height of the hill that was adioyninge to this Cittie was builded a Temple of S^t Katherine, passinge strong and defensible, wherein was laide a strong garrison for the defence of the same, and for to assist the Cittie against their aduersaries. The cittizens hearinge the approach of there enemies, the English hoast, and fearinge least they shoulde be lodged in the Subberbs of the Cittie, w^{ch} were more large then the Cittie wthin the walls, and the walls also were replenished well wth Monasteries, Abbays, Churches and Towers, and goodly and stronge Edifices,³⁰ burned the same Subberbs and the buildinge therein, and made them even wth the grounde wthout sparinge of anie thinge. To this towne at the xxxth day of July this victorious Kinge approached. Against whome entered the cittizens of the Towne, wth all there garrisons and men of warr, wth there standards and engins borne before them. The more part of all that longe day they fought maruelouslie sore one both parties, but after longe battaile and manie wounds geuen one

xxxth day
of July.

¹ for besides *to* peopeled is an addition of the Translator.

both parties the Frenchmen were so sore oppressed that they were constrained to seeke there succours wth in the walls of the Cittie,¹ where he sett and ordered the assiege in this manner. First the Kinge wth a noble and chiualous companie of young and hardy men lodged himselve tofore the gate called St Hillaries gate.

Houbeit that ever, our English Chronicles² houlde opinion Trans-
that the Kinge was lodged in a certaine Charter house, and lator.
that the Duke of Glocester at his comminge from the assiege
10 of Caesarboroughe was lodged before Saint Hillaries gate, so
that peradventure both these opinions might be true. So the
Duke of Glocester, as Titus Liuius reporteth, lay more neere
to the Towne by xl^{tie} rodde then any of the Englishmen hoast.
And by that meane it may be the Duke lay betwixt the
King and the gate, but to returne to our matter.

³ After the Kinge had appointed his place to assiege, the Titus
puissant Duke of Clarence lodged tofore the gate of Caul. Liuius.

The Duke of Exeter, after he came to the Kinge, was Trans-
lodged wth his people tofore the gate of the Castle, that is lator.
20 called Beauvice⁴; but this Duke was not at the beginninge
of the assiege, after the report of Titus Liuius;⁵ notwthstand-
inge that the English Chronicles⁶ rehearseth the contrarie,
where he saith that the Kinge in his comminge towards
Roane sent the Duke of Exeter tofore to behoulde and knowe
the strenght and situacion of the Cittie; but euery man that
shall reade this historie shall giue credence to w^{ch} partie he
liketh best, and I shall returne to my matter begunn. ⁷ The
Earle Marshall was lodged tofore the gate that was called
Marteuile, the Earle of Warwicke, after he was come from the Titus
30 stronge Castell of Donfronte,⁸ was lodged vppon the hill Liuius.
where the stronge monasterie of Saint Catherine was: the

¹ *H. and Stow insert whom in their recoil the King pursued still before the Citie; there is nothing to correspond with this in Livius.*

² *The Brut*, pp. 387-9.

³ *Livius*, p. 61.

⁴ *The Porte Beauvoisine was distinct from the Castle Gate; see further below.*

⁵ *This is an error; Livius has nothing to imply that Exeter was not present; probably the Translator did not realize that Exeter's arrival in Normandy (p. 116 above) was in May.*

⁶ *The Brut*, p. 387.

⁷ *Livius*, p. 61.

⁸ after . . . Donfronte an interpolation of the Translator, which is adopted by Stow.

Assaultes
and skir-
mishes.

Earles of Salisburie and Huntington were lodged vppon the other side of the riuier of Seene, vppon whome there enemies made assaults, issues, and skirmishes.¹ And because the Frenchmen shoulde haue no issue of theire Cittie by the riuier, the Kinge commaunded to be purueyed certaine smale shippes apparrelled for the warr, whome he manned wth part of his companie, and deputed them to restraints the Frenchmen of there libertie that they had ouer the riuier; w^{ch} vessels the Frenchmen wth theire gallies often assaulted, but they were constrayned to returne in greate hast by the strenght of the 10 Englishmen, to there greate losse and damage. And because the riuier of Seene deuided the English hoast in two parts, the Kinge caused to be made a stronge bridge of tymber ouer the same riuier, that when neede shall require they might haue free passage on foote and on horse² and carriage betwixt both the hoasts.

Gallies.

And this bridge was finished in short time, for the Kinge caused his workmen to make maruelous greate dilligence in the makinge thereof.³ And because there enemies shoulde not approach vnto them wth theire shippes and gallies to de- 20 stroy it, the Kinge caused a greate chaine to be made to be drawn over the riuier betwixt the Cittie and the bridge, by w^{ch} chayne the Frenchmen were letted from comminge to the bridge. And to th'intent his enemies comminge to the same chayne shoulde haue no libertie nor leasure to shoote gunns nor cast stones wth there engins to that bridge, nor to brake the same chayne, the Kinge ordayned certaine vessells or smale shippes to lye betwext the chaine and the bridge for the defence of them both. And where[as] those shippes might not

Shott and
gunns.

¹ *The Translator has fallen into errors similar to those which (through faulty punctuation) appear in the printed Latin text of Livius. Exeler was at the Porte Beauvoisine; the Earl Marshal at the Castle; Warwick, when he arrived, at the Porte Martinville; Salisbury at St. Catherine's; Huntingdon across the Seine before the Barbican. See Brut, pp. 388-9, and Page, Siege of Rouen ap. Collections of a London Citizen, pp. 7-9. The Pseudo-Elmham (p. 180) is clear and correct. Stow repeats the Translator's errors. Holinshed (iii. 100) combines Livius with the Brut, but repeats some of the errors.*

² *Followed to this point by Stow, who thus does not render the et jumentis of Livius. The rest of Stow's account of the siege is abbreviated.*

³ *This sentence is an interpolation by the Translator, who then resumes from Livius, pp. 61-3.*

be brought to that bridge, because that the Cittie was betwixt the hauen and the bridge, the Kinge made the same vessells to be drawn from the riuier ouer the other side of the towne and by strenght of men to be brought thoroughe the felde by lande vnto the saide bridge, where they were cast into the saide riuier for the purpose before rehearsed ; w^{ch} shippes and other smale barges wth oares ¹ the Kinge furnished with men and ordinance for the defence of the same bridge and chaine. At that time the Kinge of Portingale, cosyn to the Kinge of
 10 England and confederate in league wth him, sent a Nauie of shippes well manned into the Kinges ayde, whome the Kinge at there comminge commaunded to lie betwext the Cittie and the sea to inclose the Cittie from all comfort and succour by water. The Kinge also, because his hoast shoulde not be afflicted by famyne, caused victualles to be purveyed in England, and to be conveyed to the hoast.² The Abbey of Saint Katherine was also beseiged, but not so straightly but that they might resort to the ayde of the cittizens, and in like
 20 manner they of the Cittie might come to them, whereby the Kinge was longe delayed from his purpose ; w^{ch} thinge when the Kinge had perceaued, as a prudent prince, in the most obscure and darke time of the night, he commaunded certen manly and stronge knights to lodge them in the waye betwixt the Cittie and the Abbey, where before day they had made them lodges of tymber and earth, defensible inoughe against there enemies ; w^{ch} when the Frenchmen in the beginninge of the next day perceaued this sodaine worke, they ran thither in armes to destroy the Englishmens lodgings, and to displace the siege from that place. Where at there comminge was
 30 betwixt them a sharpe and mortall battaile. And not only that tyme, but also daylie were greate and cruell encounters and skirmishes betwixt them and that place ; for the Frenchmen euidently perceaued that this manner of impediment of there resort to the Abbey shoulde turne to there greate dainger.

¹ *remigio denuo, rudentibus, ceterisque navigiis opportunis paratas Livius. The boats were drawn across the narrow neck between Moulineaux and Orival.*

² *A paragraph of Livius, p. 62, is here omitted.*

¹ Another night the Englishmen passed the ditches of the Abbey, and wth ladders began to scale the walls of the same; but they were discried by the watches of the walls, w^{ch} caused all men wthin the Abbey to runn to there harnes and to defende the place; whereby the Englishmen, voide of there requests,² returned to there lodges. And after this the garri-son of that place, seeinge themselues inclosed from all succours of the Cittie, concluded amongst themselues to seeke for the Kings mercie, wherevpon they entered comunicacion wth the Kinge, to whome they freely yealded both there bodies ¹⁰ and there places. This most worthie Kinge, takinge vpon him the care of all his hoast, passed manie a longe wynter night wthout sleepe or repose. He dilligently visited the watches and stacions of euery companie. And whome he found negligent he corrected, and the dilligent he praised and rewarded. The thinge that was to be purueyed was provided; that thinge that he wanted he restored; and generally there was nothings in the siege, but he surueyed and ordered. And because he was informed that much people of his hoast for pride ³ had sett there tents and pauillions from there fellowes, ²⁰ by occasion whereof they might be lightlie surprised by there enemies; and if there companie had anie neede of them there lodges were so farr that they shoulde come to late to there aide; he ⁴ caused to be proclaymed openly, that euerie man shoulde lodge himselfe and his companie wthin ⁵ a circute lymitted to him; and that no man shoulde presume, wthout the Kings lycence or commaundment, to passe that precinct. By force of w^{ch} proclamacion the Englishmen lodged themselves more nighe together then they had before. And not longe after as the Kinge by chaunce visited the watches and ³⁰ wardes of his hoast, he founde two men together wanderinge wthout there circute lymitted, whome wthout delaye he commaunded to be hanged in a highe tree; by whose punishment the rest of his armie, fearinge the Kings justice, in euerie thinge after this obeyed his commaundement. And forasmuch as this armie was of great number of men, and not likely to

Marshall
Justice.

¹ *Livius*, pp. 63-5.

³ temeritate quadam *Livius*.

⁵ wth *B.*; infra limitata certa loca *Livius*.

² a proposito frustrati *Livius*.

⁴ they *B.*; the Kinge *H.*

depart thence of longe time, the Kinge ordayned a market of all things requisit to be houlden and kept amongst his people. And wth armed horsemen the Kinge commaunded the marchaunts and the victuallers, that resorted to that market, to be surely conveyed betwext there houses and the armie. But that notwthstandinge the Frenchmen awayted bothe the marchaunts and there conductes to distresse them; w^{ch} sometime were so well resisted of the Englishmen, that diuers of them were taken and brought prisoners to the Kinge; and
 10 some other time the Englishmen, there victuallers and conductors, were distressed and taken of the Frenchmen.¹ The Towne of Caudebecke, fearinge the vnquietnes of the time, councelled wthin themselues to seeke for grace to the Kinge; and after they couenaunted wth him in this manner: that when the Cittie of Roane were taken and deliuered to the Kings obeysaunce, they in like manner shoulde yealde them vnto the Kinge wthout abidinge assiege or assault. And vnder the same appointment accorded wth the Kinge xiiij^{teene} other defensible Townes, Castells, and houldes that were
 20 nighe borderers to Roane. When that victorious Prince, the Duke of Glocester, had subdewed the Towne and Castell of Saesarboroughe to the Kinges puissaunce, he came wth his hoast vnto the siege of Roane to the Kinge, of whome he was receaued right joyouslie; and by the Kinge was deputed to him a place of this assiege, wherein he indured manie assaults of his enemies; and that place was not farr from S^t Hillaries gate where the Kinge laye, and more nigh then vnto the walls of the Towne by fortie rodde than anie other of the hoast was lodged, insomuch as they lay wthin the shott of the
 30 Frenchmens quarrells. In this companie were the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lord Burganie,² w^{ch} right manly incountered there enemies at all tymes when they made anie issues by that gate.³ This assiege thus contynuinge, the Dolphine sent

¹ *In place of this last clause Livius has: Alios quosdam occasionem nactus qui non procul a castello de Cnilbefe [Quillebœuf] quibusdam civibus ultra Sequanam navigantes commeatus et Anglicos milites insecuti fuerant cum maxima victoria captos ad unum omnes ad regem deducunt. Walsingham (Hist. Angl. ii. 329) mentions this victory and gives the date as Tuesday 16th August.*

² Bergavenny.

³ *From and that place is an interpolation by the Translator derived*

The
Earle of
Armenak
slaine at
Parris.

TheKinge
is ex-
communi-
cated.

The
Vicar fast
bound in
irons.

greate men of honnor and reuerend Bisshopps in ambassage to Caene there to treat wth the Kings Councillors for peace; vnto whome the Kinge in like manner sent honnorable men and orators for his party for the same purpose; amonge whome on both parties, after manie circumstaunces of the abridginge of our matter,¹ it was concluded that the Ambassadors of the Dolphine shoulde come to the Kinge to Roane, there to treat wth him for peace; and so it was done after the deliuerance of Roane. In this meane tyme² the Earle of Armanake³ was slayne at Parris by the seruants and 10 accomplices of the Duke of Burgonie; at w^{ch} busines were also cruellie murdered and slaine manie of the same Earles seruants, not onelie men but weomen also and children. After whose death the sonn and heire of the same Earle, in purpose of reuengement of his fathers death intended by the laboure of Ambassadors to be pacified and confederate wth the Kinge of England, and to become his liegeman. But that purpose shortlie euanished wthout takinge any effect. At this siege the Vicar-generall of the Archbisshop of Roane denounced the sentence of the excommunicacion vppon the 20 Kinge and all his people; for w^{ch} act he after receaued this condigne reward: at the deliuerance of the Cittie, by agreement betwixt the Kinge and the cittizens, he was deliuered to the Kinge fast bound in irons, from w^{ch} he neuer departed vntill he misserably finished his life. After manie and straight oppressions and innumerable cruell battailes and assaults, the cittizens, fearinge at lenth to be famished by default of there victualls, daylie put out of there Cittie greate multitudes of poore people, and of others that were lesse proffitable for the defence of the Towne, before anie greate penurie of meate 30 shoulde fortune amongst them. And that they so did because those vnproffitable people shoulde not spend their victualls that other of better abillitie and streinght shoulde lyue by. But the other of better abillitie liued by it.⁴ The

through the Brut (p. 397) from John Page (*Collections of a London Citizen*, p. 11).

¹ This is apparently a misreading of the final clause in Livius: *Qua de re quum illuc venerimus plenius dicemus*. See p. 192 below.

² Really on 12th June.

³ Bernard, Count of Armagnac.

⁴ And that . . . liued by it an interpolation by the Translator.

Kinge, as a wise man perceauinge there intent, first releiued those people wth meate and drinke, and after returned them to the Cittie; whome the inhabitants, seeinge none other remedie to be deliuered of them, receaued them againe into the Cittie. The hunger increased daylie wth in the Cittie, w^{ch} at that time had bin deliuered to the Kinge, if the Duke of Burgonie, who then had the rule of Parris vnder the Kinge, had not both by his letters and by his messengers promised them succour of deliuerance. And the same thinge also the
 10 Princes and Lords of Fraunce promised vnto them. And when those cittizens had receaued this comfort wth ringinge of bells, w^{ch} tofore had not bin seene nor heard since the beginnunge of the assiege, wth hymnes, songes and processions, they gaue there laudes and prayses vnto God: whereof when the Kinge had knowledge, he visited euerie part thereof his hoast; and all the waies, whereby his aduersaries might come vnto his armie, he commaunded to be defenced wth broad and deepe ditches, and aboue them greate and stronge towers, as blockhouses for the defence and streight of his felde.
 20 And the same towers, and also the walls and banks that inclosed his felde, he fortified wth innumerable gunns and bowes, that no man shoulde inuade his hoast sodainely. And because, if peradventure the Dolphine and the Duke of Burgoyne shoulde assault his hoast on the one partie, that they of the Cittie shoulde assault him on the other partie, he commaunded also to be cast other greate and deepe ditches, no lesse then th'other tofore, betwixt his hoast and the Towne, w^{ch} in like manner he fortified wth greate and stronge walls of earth. Thus this prudent Prince,
 30 more streightlie oppressinge the Cittie then tofore, made sufficient defences on all parts to saue his hoast from all perrills of sodaine inuasions; by meanes whereof the Cittie inualished hunger,¹ in so much that in default of other meattes they were constrayned first to deuide amongst them there horses, and also there doggs, and then there cattis, ratts and myse, and generally all thinges that might be gotten; and of that vile sustenance the people coulde not haue enoughe but that when all these and all other things that were comestible

The Kinge
releued
his
enemies.

A light-
ening
against
Thunder.

A greate
famine of
virtualls
in Roane.

¹ *Civitas inde fame laborat indies magis Livius.*

The
plague in
Roane.

were consumed and eaten, then the plague of famyne entered the Cittie; so that the people, for default of reliefe, in there houses dyed, in the churches, in the streets, and generally in all places. There the sonn dyed in the sight of the father, and the childe in defaulte sucked the papps of the deade mother, and after dyed wth her; they that there lived might skarcelie burie the bodies of the deade, what for greate number of them that were dead, and for the feeblenes of them that were lyuinge; wherefore an innumerable companie of dead bodies laye by euerie place of the Cittie, that, wth the 10 incredible plague of famyne that rayned in the Cittie, they were also inflicted and scourged wth the plague of pestilence maruelouslie sore. Thus the noble Cittie was brought into so much missery that was not much lesse maruell then pittie to heare it recounted.¹

Trans-
lator.

The
Earle of
Ormond
canonised
a fryer.

In this meane time, as I haue heard of the tofore named noble Earle of Ormonde, was in those partes an holie Fryer, and very deuout, of the order of Saint Frauncis, whose name was Vincent; wth since that time, for holie conuersacion by his life, and for the greate quantitie and multitude of miracles 20 that God since his death had shewed and done for him, was canonized and admitted into the Catalogue of Saints. This holie man, knowinge by vulgar fame the miserie whereunto this noble cittie was brought by reason of this siege, came vnto the Kings house, where tofore the Kinge he made a deuoute sermon; and because he woulde not be impeached nor feared by lookinge on the Kinge nor none other, to say all that he had fixed in his minde vppon, he couered his visage wth the hoode of his habite, and after he saide foorth his sermon wth maruelous audacitie; his intent was in his sermon to reuoke 30 the Kinge from this oppression and distruction of the people; wherein the same sermon he often demaunded of the Kinge w^t he was, and if he were better then his predecessors, or better then all other kings and conquerors before his daies, that he had the hart so indurate thus to oppresse the people of

The
earle of
Ormond
his ²
sermon
before the
Kinge.

¹ The last part of this paragraph (from and the childe) is added by the Translator, from the *Brut* (pp. 390-1, 400-1, ed. Brie). Livius himself had used the same source; the *Brut* itself was derived from John Page's poem (*Collections of a London Citizen*, pp. 15-20).

² Afterwards friers was written above Earle of Ormond his.

Christ ; and fynallie he asked him whether he were better then our Lorde Jesus Christ, that, beinge an innocent, for the compassion of mans lynage suffered willfull passion and death, and the Kinge to the contrarie destroyeth euen Christians that had not offended him ; and after that he hadd showed and saide manie exhortacions, authorities and examples correspondent to his purpose, wherewth he continued and after ended his Godly Sermon, w^{ch} the Kinge deuoutlie and attentiuellie heard, and noted without anie motion of ire or anie aunswer or
 10 replicacion by him made to the Fryers demaundes as for that time, nor the time and place were not thereto conuenient. But after the sermon was ended, the Kinge commaunded the Fryer to be brought before him ; to whome in open audience he saide these wordes : ‘ Ye asked me this day in your sermon
 ‘ what I was that thus oppressed the people of Christ’s
 ‘ profession, to w^{ch} demaunde at that time it was not convenient
 ‘ to make aunswere, and therefore nowe I aunswere you this :
 ‘ I am the scourge of God, sent to punish the people of God
 ‘ for there synns.’ And that aunswere made, he commaunded
 20 euerie man to avoide the chamber, except the Fryer, w^{ch} they two only were together in secret comunicacion by the space of two or three howers. And when they shoulde depart, the Kinge offered to the Fryer manie greate and rich guiftes, The
 whereof the Fryer woulde receaue nothinge ; but at the Kings
 instance he receaued at his gifte the whole apparrell of his
 Altar, as well in vestments, aulter clothes, Chalice, bookes, cruettes, candlestickes and pax as in all other adornamentes, The
 w^{ch} he put in the same chappell, where he daylie songe Masse. gifte to the
 Fryer.
 Then the Fryer tooke leaue of the Kinge, and when the Kinge
 30 desired him oftner to resort vnto him, he aunswered after that daie he shoulde neuer see him ; and in that he saide trueth, for shortly after he returned to his Couent he was visited of God by extreame sicknes, wherein he departed from
 this transitorie life to God. And when he had taken his leaue
 of the Kinge, he came through the hall, where at that time were
 manie greate & noble men of the Kinges hoast, to whome
 this Fryer spoke in generall in this manner : ‘ My Lords and
 ‘ masters all, See yee that ye doe to the Kinge y^{or} Master The
 ‘ dilligent and true seruice, as ye haue till nowe right well Fryers

councell
to the
kings
Nobles
and other
his
followers.

'done, for in your so doeing ye shall right well please God.
'This morninge, tofore I came hether, I beleued that the
'Kinge your Master had byn the greatest Tyrant amonge all
'other Princes Christian; but nowe I perceau the contrary,
'for I assure you he is the most perfect and the most acceptable
'vnto God of all them that be heare present this daie, and his
'quarell is so iust and so true that vndoubtedly God is and
'shalbe his aide in all these warres.' And this saide he tooke
his leaue of them all that were present and departed.¹ Then
to returne to our former matter.

² When those cittizens of Roane perceaued themselues
maruelouslie afflicted by the plague of famyne that vnmeasur-
ably raigned amongst them, and that they were in dispayre
of succoure from the Frenchmen, they accorded by there owne
common assent to send vnto the Kinge of England certaine of
the greatest and wisest of the Cittie apparrelled in mourninge
clothes, w^{ch} wth lamentable voyce shoulde obtayne the Kings
mercie and grace, both for the Cittie and for themselues; who
by the Kings commaundment were brought into his pauillion;
and the Kinge, royally adorned and sett in his seate of ²⁰
Maiestie amongst the princes and lords, tarried there com-
minge; and when they were come to his presence, after they
had obtayned lycence to speake, the chiefe of them, to whome
was committed the charge of legacie, began thus to propose
his message. 'Most victorious and most puissant of Kings,
'the strenght of fortune is maruelous sometime, and allwaies
'vntill nowe we were principalls and supream heads of all
'Normandy, and ennobled wth riches, wth honnor, and wth
'dignities amongst all men, and amongst all the Citties of
'Fraunce our Cittie was reputed as one of the most fortunate; ³⁰
'and nowe (peradventure for our synns) we perrish by famyne.
'Notwthstandinge we haue suffered this ponishment for
'a good and licible cause, that is to saue and defend our oath
'to our prince accustomed. We haue eaten our horsses, our
'doggs, cattis, ratts and mise amongst vs. The father seeth
'his childe and the sonne his parents daylie and howerly
'falinge and dyinge for hunger before there faces. Oh highe

¹ On this story see pp. xxxiv-xxxvi above.

² Livius, pp. 65-8.

'and mightie God, what is that greate and abhominable
 'offence that hath caused this misserie amonge vs! Thou
 'affirmest this countrie to descend of thee by right of inheri-
 'tance, and that nowe thou wilt repeate¹ and conquere thie
 'right by strenght and by armes. Truly of thie right we
 'presumed to be iudges, and haue serued this Prince of Fraunce
 'by manie continewed yeares; whome we thought had bin
 'Lord of this countrie, but our opinion deceaued vs; and
 'that we nowe euidentlie perceauē, for this miserie that nowe
 10 'oppresseth vs, whome they accompt for their people,
 'nothinge mooueth them, nor of our paynes they haue no
 'compassion; they keepe them couert in houses after the
 'manner of weomen, and we perrish for hunger. We be
 'constrayned, most puissant Prince, to seeke to thie clemencie
 'and mercie, and if thou accomptest this for thie countrie,
 'haue then mercie vpon vs thie people, and forgiue vs our
 'transgressions, that nowe be vanquished and almost dead.
 'And if thou wilt not so doe, but oppresse vs continewally,
 'it is liefer to vs the people of Roane to perrish together by
 20 'this our pestylence of famine then by diuers cruelties and
 'torments. I feare to speake what those cruell princes of
 'times past were accustomed to doe at there subdewinge of
 'townes. This Cittie was the only eye of all Normandie, and
 'one of the chiefe citties of Fraunce; w^{ch} if thou destroy, thou
 'shalt destroy it in vs. And for vs thou intendest so much to
 'followe and ensewe cruelties. Thou preuaylest by battaile
 'and by armes; and our people sitteth at home in deuision
 'and altercacions and after the right of weomen, and repose
 'them in there pallaces in there longe gownes and furred soft;
 30 'and generally to speake, they liue in all delights. But noble
 'Prince, make thou thie victorie longe to continewe, and thou
 'shalt gouerne thie people by armes and by feare. And howe
 'be it thou be feared for the distruccion of Roane amonge thine
 'owne people, yet the remembraunce thereof shall not feare
 'the Frenchmen, as they that force nothinge of our distruccion.
 'Of thee, O mightie Prince, we aske peace, we instantly pray
 'for peace, we knowe the condicions of a victorious Prince to

Roane the
 chiefe
 cittie of
 Nor-
 mandy
 and
 Fraunce.

¹ repetere *Livius*.

'be of peace,¹ w^{ch} we trust to be in thee, that art most pitious
 'and mercifull. Thou hast vanquished vs by armes. There-
 'fore most mercifull Prince, vanquish thou also thie minde
 'and hart, and as thou art most puissant in armes, so giue
 'thou occasion to be noted most excellent in all clemencie
 'and humanitie.' After he had thus finished his oration, the
 Kinge, who most constantlie had attended to his words,
 nor had showed no countenance of displeasure, aunswered
 meekelie and simplie in this manner. 'Ye cittizens of Roane,
 'of them, whome ye saie in times past haue bin your Princes, 10
 'most greate and importunate iniuries haue bine done vnto vs
 'and to ours, the redresse whereof we haue asked of them
 'friendly and allmost by the aduise of all Christian nacions;
 'but there was no aduertisement of God nor of man, that
 'might mooue them to doe vs justice. Then by the councell
 'almost of all the vniuersities, of wise men, and lettered men
 'on our right and iust tytle, we mooued against you warr, and
 'as you see God and our iustice fauoreth vs. And as we haue
 'our confidence in him he shall daily fauour vs more and
 'more. We demaund nor require not other mens right but 20
 'our owne. Ye perrish for hunger, and we neuer desired it,
 'but rather that you and our Cittie shoulde prosper in wealth
 'and riches; we desire rather to haue it fortunate and happie
 'then oppressed in this misseries; yourselues be the cause of
 'your derogation, ye be the occasion of your famyne, and that
 'throughe your obstinate pride; ye yourselues haue sowed the
 'seede of so manie misseries amonge you. Wherefore ye
 'shall vndoubtedly make aunswere to the immortall God. O
 'ye rich and principall cittizens of Roane! howe greate was
 'this your presumptuous arrogancie and pride that yee chose 30
 'rather to slea by famine an innumerable multitude of people,
 'then to deliuer the Cittie to his true Prince and inhabitort?
 'Or else peraduenture you take vppon you the iudgement of
 'my title. Knowe you not how manie Castells, Citties and
 'defensible places haue bin by vs obtayned and gotten, and
 'howe often from the fildes wth victories haue wee chased our
 'aduersaries? Were not these signes of justice? Or else thinke

¹ Scimus victoris esse pacis condiciones dicere *Livius*.

' yee that God intermitted not wth mens causes? Surelie he is
 ' our true and indifferent Judge in all our actions, and ministreth
 ' and daily shall minister more wholie to vs the extremitie of
 ' justice. Therefore, ye cittizens of Roane, that our sentence
 ' be knowne to you; if our right be deliuered vnto us, if ye
 ' will be subiects to our Empire and make vnto vs due satisfac-
 ' cion for your trespas, our mercy shalbe ready for you, and we
 ' shall relieue your misseries; and if after this ye perseuere in
 ' good works wth faithfull allegiance towards vs, we shall to the
 10 ' deservinge of your deeds be fauorable vnto you. And in
 ' brieftime we trust you shall attaine to your former fortunate
 ' and prosperous estate. And if ye be otherwise minded our
 ' mercie is to be geuen to men that be penitent, and not to
 ' them that be obstinate.' This aunswere made, the legatts of
 the Cittie were lycenced of the Kinge to returne to there
 habitacions, where they assembled the auncient and sage
 cittizens and the cheftaines of the garrison to counsell. To
 whome they made relacion of the Kings sentence. And after
 deliberacion amongst them taken, the same legatts by there
 20 common assent were sent againe to the Kinge wth full authoritie
 to couenaunt wth him in all things at his pleasure, so that they
 were releued of there famyne; wth whome after manie petitions
 and aunswers they fynally concluded vppon this appointment:
 that if the stronge and mightie power of Fraunce remoued not
 this siege by the [19th]¹ day of Januarie next comminge, they
 shoulde deliuer to the Kinge all there Cittie, Tower, Castell,
 Abbeyes, Churches, houses, cittizens, cheiftaines, garrisons, and
 all other things generallie that were within the Cittie, what-
 soeuer they were; and also they couenaunted at the deliuer-
 30 inge of the City to deliuer the Kinge the vicar-generall of the
 Archbisshopp of Roane, w^{ch} presumptuously had denounced
 the sentence of excommunicacion against the Kinge, wherefore
 the Kinge woulde he shoulde be deliuered vnto him in bands,
 to doe his will of him; and so it was done. And the Kinge, Trans-
 when he had don and had him in possession, committed him lator.²
 vnto obscure prison, where he miserablie finished his daies.

¹ *om. MSS.; ante diem xiiii. Kal. Febr. Livius.*

² *The text seems to be derived direct from Livius, from whom Holinshed (iii. 105) quotes it.*

Also vppon the same appointment was deliuered vnto the Kinge one Alame¹ Blancharde, w^{ch} at the Kings commaundment was put to death, but what offence he had committed against the Kinge my author maketh no mencion.²

Titus
Liuius.

³ And ouer these promisses and appointments these saide legatts of the Cittie couenaunted satisfaccion for their obstinacie by a certaine day lymitted for the same to pay vnto the Kinge 300 thousand scutes of French money, whereof two scutes counteruayleth an angell noble. And after also of the deliuerance of the Cittie the Kinge shoulde haue free¹⁰ libertie to builde wthin the Cittie, or wthin there iurisdiccio, whatsoeuer edifice or buildinge shoulde please him. And if for this newe buildinge it shoulde be necessary to breake or cast downe any other mens houses, they vnto whome those houses belonged shoulde content them wth the due recompence of money, or anie other buildings in other places. And the buildinge that the Kinge couenaunted for at this place, after begunn at the Kings costs wth greate and stronge foundations, betwixt the Castell and the Riuer of Seene, where he intended to haue edified another more stronge and defencible²⁰ Tower then anie that was there tofore; by helpe whereof and by the garrisons he purposed to leaue in the same, and in the Castell, his minde was rather to correct and chastice the cittizens, yf peradventure they woulde rebell against his Ma^{ties}; w^{ch} Tower, after it was begunn, by reason of the Kings death was left vnfinished.⁴ Then to returne to our matter. For the sure performaunce of these couenants the cittizens deliuered to the Kinge in pledge xxiiij⁵ other principallest of the Cittie. And when the day prefixed was come, and they not succored by the Frenchmen, they obserued there couenaunts³⁰ wth the Kinge. The gates were opened, and the most victorious Kinge wth greate multitudes of Dukes, Earles, Barrons,

¹ Alain.

² but what . . . mencion an addition by the Translator. *Holinshed quotes the previous clause as from the Translator, but omits this. Blanchard had hung English prisoners from the walls of Rouen.*

³ *Livius*, pp. 68, 69.

⁴ w^{ch} Tower . . . vnfinished an interpolation by the Translator. *The Tower stood at the south-west corner of the city; it was afterwards known as Le Vieux Palais.*

⁵ octuaginta *Livius*.

Knights, and others of the Commons entered the Cittie. And because his people shoulde not giue them to rapine nor to spoile, the Kinge first constituted certen gentlemen in euery quarter, and in euerie street of the Cittie to prohibit all iniuries and rapins to be done by the Englishmen. And that done, after he had visited the Metropolitane Church of the Towne, and had geuen praisinge to our Lord God accordingly,¹ the Kinge havinge compassion ouer the people, that were by hunger famished, aboue measure oppressed, com-
 10 maunded his people, as well as his househoulde seruants, as others his souldiers, dilligentlie to puruey plentie of victualls for there reliefe, w^{ch} by there aboundance of meates restored innumerable people to health, w^{ch} before were at the entrie of death. Thus the Kings first care and laboure was to relieve the famished people. Yet notwthstandinge for all there dilligence the hunger coulde not be assuaged, but that the Cittie xv^{ene} dayes after the Kings entry was continually vexed and greued wth death; the cause whereof was the rage of the famyne, that tofore had extreameley raged amonge them; but
 20 after xv dayes that the death was cleerelie auoided and the plague ceased, the inhabitants of the Cittie daylie recouered there former bodelie healths, and increased in sufficiencie of victualls. Then the most prudent Prince constituted there such rulers and captaines, as him seemed most beneficiall for the relief of the Cittie, w^{ch} were so dilligent in the care of the people that in short time the Cittie was reduced into there former prosperitie. The Towne of Caudebecke², as they before hadd couenaunted, after the deliuerie of Roane, was immediatly yealded to the Kinge; and not only that Towne
 30 but as manie as were nighe vnto Roane followed the example of it, and became subiects to the Kinge, as our English Trans-
 Cronicles³ reciteth to the number of xiiij. Castells and defen- lator.
 cible Townes. And that noble knight, Sir Guy Butler⁴, Titus
 chiefe ruler of the Cittie of Roane vnder the French kinge, Liuius.⁵

¹ after . . . accordingly *an interpolation by the Translator from the Brut*, p. 422 (*Page's poem*).

² Gaudebecke B.

³ *Policronicon*, p. 230, Depe and many other towns.

⁴ Guy le Bouteiller; Guydo Butilere *Livius*.

⁵ *Livius*, pp. 69-70.

was sworne to be the Kings true liegeman. Certaine prelatts¹ were assigned by the Kinge to take the oathes of euerie man that woulde become the Kings liegeman ; to whome in short time came an infinit multitude of people to submitt themselues to the Kings Ma^{tie}, as well Bisshopps, Abbotts and Priests of every dignitie and profession, as Lords, Knights, gentlemen, and commons of the Temporaltie, w^{ch} before were subiects to the French Kinge and the Duke of Burgonie ;² seeinge the daylie victories of the Kinge, whome all things followed so fortunatlie and so happelie that they beleeued all to be geuen ¹⁰ him of God ; and trustinge also his dominacion and empire to encrease and euer to continewe, they labored and sewde vnto him to haue there olde priuiledges confirmed and approued of him. To whome that gracious Prince ratified and confirmed all their auncient prerogatiues graunted by his predecessors accordinge to th'effect of there desire. And such articles as they had of the French Kinge or of his predecessors he vtterly repelled and dissolued. This noble Kinge the rather to relieue this oppressed Cittie ordayned his exchequer, his Treasorie, and his coynage to be kept in the same. He ²⁰ also edified a stronge Tower behinde the same Castell, and from the Castell to the Tower, and from the Tower to the kings Pallace, his garrison might goe in safetie, and peraduenture the sooner to restraîne the mindes of the cittizens, if they conspired any insurreccion ; and for the more assurance thereof he intended to make other stronge houlds and towers betwext the saide newe Tower and Castell, and betwixt the Castell and the Pallace.³ Whilest this most prudent Kinge provided and ordered all things in this manner wth in the Cittie, he sent in the meane time diuers of his lords wth ³⁰ stronge puissance of people to receaue the Castells and Towers borderinge vppon Roane into his dominion. Amongest whome the mightie Prince, the Duke of Clarence, in short time reduced to the Kinges power the mightie Castell of Galion⁴,

¹ praefectis *Livius*.

² of every . . . Burgonie *an interpolation by the Translator, who does not render* qui regiis ducalibusque privilegiis potiti fuerant.

³ and for . . . Pallace *an interpolation by the Translator*.

⁴ Gaillon.

scituat vppon the Seene, the Towne of Vernon, also vppon Seene, w^{ch} was fortified almost wth innumerable municions and maruelous defences, the Towne of Maunte¹, the Castell of Bandmunte², and manie other stronge places and holdes. The Earle of Salisburie, wth the companie of him assigned, tooke the Towne of Hunselewe³, the Towne of Monsieur de Villieurs⁴, w^{ch} since the takinge of Harefleet⁵ vntill this day was his greatest and next enemie; he conquered also the Towne of Ewe⁶, the Towne of Gourney, the newe Castell⁷,
 10 and generallie all the places in that part that was aduersaries to the Kinge.

⁸ The Duke of Breton, seeinge cleerelie that the Kinge had subdued all Normandie to his empiere, by meanes whereof in as much as the daie of there Truce was nowe expired he might lightlie receaue preiudice and losse both to himselfe and to his countrie, first his safe conduct for his comminge to the Kinge and for his retourne both obtayned, the saide Duke came to Roane to the Kinge accompanied wth vC. horses, and brought wth him greate and rich giftes and presents.
 20 The Kinge receaued right lovinglie and friendlie, and lodged him and his at his owne costs, wthout that the Kinge suffered him to send anie of his goods.⁹ And after manie louinge and plesaunt comunicacions betwixt them, at the last they condescended vppon a condicionall truce in this manner: that neither of them, there people nor subiects, shall mooue warr against the other, his people, nor subiects; except he, that mooueth warr first against the other, cause the warr to be published wthin six moneths after the date hereof;¹⁰ and if no warr were published betwixt them before that day then the
 30 saide Truce shoulde endure for seauen yeares next comminge; w^{ch} couenauntes solemnlie established the noble

¹ Mantes.

² Baudemont; Bandemont *Livius*; Brandmount *Stow*.

³ Honfleur; Hunfleue *Livius*.

⁴ Montivilliers; Moster de villers *Livius*; Mounsieur de Villers *Stow*.

⁵ Harfleur. ⁶ Eu. ⁷ Neufchâtel (Seine-Inférieure).

⁸ *Livius*, pp. 70-2.

⁹ wthout that . . . goods an interpolation by the Translator.

¹⁰ nisi per illum qui moturus sit arma prius indictum bellum ante sex menses fuerit *Livius*. The following clause is an addition by the Translator. Cf. *Foedera*, ix. 663.

Duke, licenced of the Kinge, returned to his countrie. The legats of Charles the Dolphine, as they had graunted at Alanson, with full commaundment and authoritie geuen to them by the same Dolphine to make an appointment of peace, as deputies to his person to confirme the same by oath, came to Roane to the Kinge, who rather desired peace wth some diminishinge of his right, then to continue warr wth the obtayninge of his whole inheritaunce; betwixt these legatts and such of the Councell as the Kinge deputed to treat wth them of the peace, after manie offers, requests, and demaunds ¹⁰ one both parties there vppon had, it was thus accorded: that at a certaine day appointed the Kinge shoulde be at the Cittie of Ebronce ¹, and the Dolphine at the same time shoulde be at the Towne of Dreux, where by there both assents they should choose a meane place betwixt the Cittie and the Towne, wherevnto they both shoulde resorte peaceable and at there pleasure to treat betwixt them for the peace; to w^{ch} agreement the Kinge condescended, and for the more assurance they were reducte into writinge. And the Kinge sealed the writinge wth his seale, and ouer that he bounde him ²⁰ selfe by his oath to obserue the same on his part wthout malengine or deceite.² And in like manner the Legatts of the Dolphine promised and affirmed by the puttinge to there seales, and also by there oathes, in the name and for the person of the Dolphine wthout fraude or deceite plainelie to obserue and performe the same couenaunts. This done the Legats retourned to the Dolphine, whome they informed seriouslie of the acts and treaties; wherewth he shewed himselfe to be very well content and agreeable to the same, inso-
much as he approued and ratified the same writinge by the ³⁰ apposition of his seale, and so sealed sent the same to the Kinge, who at the appointed time, leadinge wth him a noble companie of his lords and estates, tooke his journey to the aforesaide Cittie of Ebroycen ³; and at his comminge thether he sent auncient and wise men of his Councell to see where might be the most conuenient place for the meetinge of the two princes. But the Dolphine was averted from his purpose

¹ Évreux.² sine dolo malo *Livius*.³ Évreux.

by some evill disposed people, [and]¹ came not to his appointed place to meete the Kinge accordinge to his promises. Then, the peace vnreformed, the Kinge thus disappointed by the Dolphine, trustinge his aduersaries for theire deceite to haue worse fortune, departed thence and went to the Towne of Vernon to receaue it vnder his dominion wth all other holdes in the circute thereof or nighe therevnto ; where he solemnlie passed the time of Easter.

² In the vijth yeare of his most victorious raigne the Kinge Anno
Regni
vijth 1419
¹⁰ sent his puissant brother Humphrie, Duke of Glocester, accompanied wth the Earl Marshall,³ wth a greate companie of armed men to laye siege to the Towne and Castell of Iurrie⁴. The Towne whereof after manie assaults and perilous battailes wth greate strenght and manhood this noble Duke by force subdued ; but the Castell whereof was so builded in an high rocke, and the waies whereby men ascended to it were so streight and crooked that to make anie assault vnto it shoulde be much more preiudiciall to the Englishmen then to the Frenchmen that kept it. Neuerthelesse the garrison
²⁰ that kept it was so maruelouslie wearied by continuall assaults and skirmishes, and fearinge so much the valiauntnes of the Duke, that they at the xijth daye of May yealded them to the Duke. [In the mean time the Duke]⁵ of Burgonie, to whome the charge of the realme of Fraunce was committed because of the infirmitie of Kinge Charles, to w^{ch} Duke also the Dolphine had restored his grace, as a wise man the rather by that meanes to defende the countrie of Fraunce, consideringe and aduisinge the power of King Henrie, and also his manie and greate victories, by letteres and messengers sought⁶
³⁰ peace and amitie wth the most victorious kinge. And by that meanes and at the last he obtayned that the Kinge of England shoulde send his orators and wise men to the Towne

¹ *om. MSS.*

² *Livius*, pp. 72-5.

³ John Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham.

⁴ *Ivry* ; *Yvery Livius* ; *Ivory Stow*.

⁵ *om. MSS.* *The copyist has clearly skipped several lines here ; Livius reads : pro rege duci deditur. Comes de Warwik castellum de Roke litoribus in Sequanae situm super omnia munitissimum obsidione, cuniculis pluribus mutisque certaminibus affatigatis castellanis, pro rege recipit. Illustrissimus interim Princeps Johannes Dux Burgundiae.*

⁶ messengers and sought *MSS.*

of Prouince¹, where for that time the Kinge of Fraunce and the same Duke aboade; of w^{ch} ambassage the noble Earle of Warwicke, chosen as principall and chiefe by th'assent of the vniuersall Councell,² accompanied wth two hundred horses of chosen men, entred his journey towards Prouince. In w^{ch} journey a much greater companie of Frenchmen of the Dolphins confederacie were embushed by the way to disturbe his journey and to dissolue this comunicacion of peace. To whome when the Earle approached they brake that ambushment and ran vppon the Englishmen. This noble¹⁰ Earle, though his companie were not to be compared to the number of his aduersaries, commaunded the people to disceind from their horses and stronglie to resist their enemies. Then the Englishmen assailed so impetuously their aduersaries, that by strenght and manhood they obtayned the victorie of them, and tooke of them more prisoners then they were themselves in number; w^{ch} prisoners the Earle sent vnto the Kinge, himselfe contynued forth his journey towards Prouince. And when he was come to Kinge Charles and to the Duke of Burgonie,³ he and all his companie were²⁰ noblie receaued, as the Ambassadors of so greate and noble a Prince, and were there cured of their wounds that they had receaued in their journey aforesaide, and were also releued of their displeasure by faire words and by rewards, as much as by the Frenchmen might be done; at the last, after they had obtayned lycence to propose the cause of their legacie, after manie perswasions and motions on both parties they accorded on this manner: that a certaine time, there to be lymitted, the Kinge of England, and the Kinge of Fraunce wth the Queene Isabell, his wife, and the Duke of Burgoyne⁴ shoulde³⁰ meete together at a place ascertained there to treat of peace; for w^{ch} couenaunts plenallie to be concluded the Earle of St Poul,⁵ and the sonn and heire of the Duke of Burboyne,⁶

¹ Provins.

² Comes Warwik, auctoritate, virtute, consilioque peroptimus, bello vero strenissimus *Livius*.

³ Burbone *MSS.*; serenissimum Johannem ducem Burgundiae *Livius*.

⁴ Burboyne *MSS.* ⁵ Philip, Count of St. Pol.

⁶ Charles de Bourbon, son of Jean, the Duke of Bourbon, who was taken prisoner at Agincourt.

wth many other Ambassadors, after they had obtayned of the Englishmen suertie for there safe passage, came to the Kinge of Englande; after he was seriouslie aduertised of all there aduertisments and appointments both by his owne Ambassadors, and also by the¹ Lords of Fraunce, he thus condescended wth his aduersaries: that at the xxxth day of May he shoulde be at the Towne of Maunt² and of Alaunte, and Kinge Charles wth the Queene, his wife, and the Duke of Burgonie³ shoulde be at the same time at Ponteise⁴; and
 10 there indifferent place where they shoulde meet shoulde be the Towne of Millans⁵ by the Seene, and most apt and convenient for that purpose; to w^{ch} meane place neither of the saide parties shoulde come accompanied wth more then two thousand and five hundred men; in the meane season shoulde be truce and respecte of warr betwext the two kings and theire people. Incontinent vppon this appointment all the Townes were apparrelled for the receauinge of so greate Princes. The meane place betwext the other two, where they
 20 shoulde meet, was appointed betwext two riuers, wherein no man shoulde enter but such as were necessarie for the peace to be treated on. And on that side that was towards the Riuier of Seene the Englishmen fixed there tents and pauillions maruelouslie imbordered wth signes and semblances of Lillies and of Roses⁶, and of other signes of all goulde; and on th'other side of the place the Frenchmen rayased there tents, so that the apparaunce of the tents was in sight to bee compared to a right fayre Cittie; and betwext those too riuers was erecte the pauillions of the two Kings, wherein those
 30 Princes wth there Councell might surely and at good leisure wthout impediment treat those things that shoulde concerne the peace. And [that] the dignitie and due honnour of euerie Kinge shoulde be kept,⁷ they fixed a post in the midle of the same place, where and no further either Kinge shoulde meete

¹ his *B.*; Karoli legatis *Livius*.

² Mantes; 'and of Alaunte' is an erroneous addition peculiar to *B.*

³ Burboyne MSS.

⁴ Pontoise.

⁵ Meulan.

⁶ *Roses is a fancy of the Translator; Livius has pulcherrima cum auro plurima liliis, leopardis. The Rose did not become a royal badge till much later.*

⁷ colloquiis possent. Et ut utriusque regis dignitas servaretur . . . palus *Livius*.

other. These things dilligently done, at the daie appointed the Kinge of England, accordinge to his promise, came to the Towne of Maunte, accompanied of the most wise and expert men of all lawes, as well spirituall as temporall, both Bisshopps and others,¹ w^{ch} were worthie able Councillors for so greate a cause ; and besides them he hadd also in his companie two thousand five hundred men of armes, in harneys couered aboute there armouris wth garments intertexed and wouen wth goulde and siluer, maruelous, beauteous and rich. Kinge Charles of Fraunce, at his day appointed, came not accord-¹⁰ inge to his promise, for at that time he was troubled wth his accustomed infirmitie ; but the Queene, his wife, wth the Duke of Burgonie, wth manie other noble men of the Kings bloode and of the Dukes, accompanied wth two thousand five hundred men of armes, came to Pontoise in performinge of there promise. And shortlie after both these two parties mett at there indifferent places that was assigned for them. Where the Kinge at there meetinge kissed first amyeablye the Queene, and after the Ladye Katherine, her daughter, w^{ch} was not done wthout some shamefastnes of that virgin ; and²⁰ then they, wth the Duke of Burgonie and all other estats there² beinge present,³ entered the pauillion, where they shoulde treate of this longe desired peace. Amonge whome it was proposed and mooued, and⁴ what offers and requests were made, because theire treate attained to no good ende, shall at this time passe vnrehearsed ; but almost all the first daie, and the xijth day of June,⁵ they were contynually debatinge and seekinge some meane of peace wthout anie thinge concludinge. The saide xijth of June,⁵ the Kinge commaunded all his people to stand in array wth there ban-³⁰ ners, standards, and other ensignes displayed tofore the banks of the riuer⁶ wthout the aforesaide close place, wherein they had holde there councill. And at w^{ch} things not onlie the Frenchmen but also the Englishmen were admaruelled, nor

¹ alii sacerdotibus *Livius*.

² they *B*.

³ tunc et Burgundiae dux cum omni observatione Principi Dominae porrecta dextera, simul et rex cum puella et reliquis *Livius*.

⁴ totum fere diem Kal. Junii, sic et diem Nonarum itidem ad Idus *Livius*.

⁵ Idibus *Livius*.

⁶ prae fossarum littoribus *Livius*.

noe man knewe what betokeneth this ordinance of the Kinge. Then at the xvjth daye of June, when these princes mett at there accustomed councell, the Kinge commaunded to giue to all the people that resorted to that place so greate aboundance of delicate meate, that both Englishmen and Frenchmen helde themselves maruelouslie well feasted ; nor at that time it was not surelie knowne whether peace or warr shoulde ensue vppon there treatie ; nor by all that part of the moneth of June, by w^{ch} time those two princes continewed there
 10 councell, was not determined the certaintie thereof. At this time sounded and rose vpp a rumour amonge th'englishmen that the Dolphin labored to disturbe and let the reformation of this peace. But that rumor notwthstandinge, the Kinge continewed by treatie trustinge to finde the way of peace, w^{ch} was semblable enoughe had not the Dolphine blandished and laboured the Duke of Burgonie by letters and by messengers wth manie faire promisses and behests, that neither the Duke, nor none of his adherents, nor anie of his friends shoulde studie nor assent to the makinge of no manner of
 20 peace betwixt the two Kings. To whose desire the Duke condiscended, w^{ch} after was occasion that he was slayne in the Dolphins presence against his oath and promise.¹ And the thirde day of July, when they shoulde haue met againe, the Kinge came to that place where they had houlden there councell before, where the Frenchmen appeared none, neither the Queene, nor the Duke, nor none of the Frenchmens Councell ; whereby it was evident to all men that this peace was left vnreformed, not in the default of the Kinge of England, but in default of the Frenchmen. And so of all that
 30 meetinge and councell ensued nothinge that is worthie of report, except the flame of Loue some deale fired the hart of this Martiall Kinge to the sight of this younge Virgine Catherine, daughter to the Kinge and Queene of Fraunce.

² Imediatly after the dissoluinge of this comunicacion, by Enguer-
 the mediacion of manie greate Lords the Dolphine and the ^{unt.}
 Duke of Burgonie met together at Millan³ wth all there

¹ *The Translator glosses his original.* Quod impetratum causa fuit ut hiis in per maximum dolum et contra fidem datam a Delphino crederetur Livius.

² *Monstrelet*, iii. 322.

³ Melun.

Mutiners
in Roane
beheaded.

puissance and streinght, where in a felde¹ nighe vnto Millan was agreed and sworne betwext them a perpetuall peace; after w^{ch} peace affirmed they both returned into there cuntries in purpose to make there preparacion for the resistance of the Englishmen. ² Whilest these things were thus a doeing, manie of the cittizens of Roane attempted to rebell against the Kinge; whereof when the Kinge had first knowledge, he sent thether many of his Lords and Knights, w^{ch} dilligentlie enquired of those rebels, whome when they found as justice required, they were punished by loosinge of their heads, by ¹⁰ whose death the Cittie was deliuered of this coniuracion and conspiracie. And this done, they that were sent returned to the Kinge. The xxxth day of July this most victorious Prince caused to be proclaymed thoroughe all his places and countries that wth his enemies was no truce but that the warr shoulde be open as it was before. And because his minde was [not]³ only inclosed in Normandie the Kinge desired to haue the Towne of Pontoise,⁴ by w^{ch} if it were taken he might haue the more suer and easie passage to Parris, the principall and chiefe Cittie of all Fraunce, nor from thence ²⁰ to Parris was no river that might trouble his journey.⁵ And vppon this deliberacion first had, he elected out of his hoast certaine knights and men of warr to enterprise that feate, of whome he made two parties; and the first part wth skalinge ladders in there hands, maruelouslie artificiall, he made and he sent out of the Towne of Maunte⁶ at after noone, wthout shewing to any man, there captaine only excepted, what there purpose shoulde be, because there enemies shoulde haue no knowledge thereof. And when this companie was departed the Towne, the Kinge commaunded the gates of the ³⁰ Cittie to be inclosed, and so to be kept that no man shoulde passe the walls, to the end that by no meanes there aduersaries shoulde be aduertized of there enterprise. Tofore there de-

¹ *At Pouilly-le-Fort.*

² *Livius*, pp. 75-7.

³ *om. MSS.*; quoniam et ejus animus in sola Normannia non occluditur *Livius*.

⁴ Pontoise.

⁵ *At this point Stow, who had omitted the account of the Meulan Conference, resumes his use of the Translator, though in an abbreviated form.*

⁶ Mantes.

partinge the Kinge had instructed his captaine¹ of that companie the manner of theire inquest in this manner : that in the most wisest and in secret possible they shoulde approach the walls of Pontoys in the most obscure and darke time of the night ; and if peradventure they might perceauce the watches at that time negligent and faultey, then when they shoulde see the time most convenient for there purpose they shoulde skale the walls, and by that meanes take the Towne. When this companie was departed the Towne of Maunte, the Kinge sent
 10 a greate companie in the aide of the first, of whome he made conductor the Earle of Huntington² ; and this companie he sent out of Maunte in the beginninge of the night ; and as soone as they were departed the Towne the gates were fast inclosed againe, and after that they were not opened vntill th'ende of this enterprise was knowne. The first of these two companies at the entrie of the night was come nighe into Pontoys, where in a wood they left there horsses, least by there noyse and brayinge they shoulde be discouered ; and that done, in the most darknes of the night they went on foote vnto the ditches
 20 of the Towne, w^{ch} then were dry and wthout water ; where part of them lay in the banke of the ditches wth there ladders in ther hands ready to skale the walls, when time shoulde be ; and the residue hidd them in the vynes that were nighe vnto the walls, where they might be ready soonest to enter the Towne, at the openinge of the gates, to assist there companie.³ Thus they passed that night wthout makinge any manner of noyse, for feare to be perceaued of there watches of the Towne, w^{ch} all that night were passinge dilligent, vntill it was toward daye, that as they were accustomed at th'entrie of the daye
 30 they chainged there watches, to th'intent that they that watched by night shoulde rest by day ; at this watches of the night at the chainge of it the walls were left wthout watches for the tyme.⁴ Then the Englishmen, w^{ch} slept not, seeinge time

¹ Gaston de Foix.

² One MS. of *Livius* leaves the name blank, another has comitem Warewicke ; the *Pseudo-Elmham* (p. 228) has quendam comitem. *Walsingham* (*Hist. Angl.* ii. 330) gives Huntingdon, which is correct.

³ where they . . . companie an interpolation by the Translator, adopted by Stow.

⁴ Advenit ipsa dies, mutantur excubiae, quo fit ut custodibus deserta moenia maneant *Livius*.

to accomplish there intent, rayseed their ladders and scaled the walls, and by that meanes entered the Towne; where some of them, immediatly after they were entered, brake the gate of the Towne and made entrie to the rest of there companie; and others attended to the sleying of there aduersaries that resisted there entrie.¹ When the inhabitants and garrisons of the Towne had first perceaued the sodaine entrie of there enemies, as men amazed for feare they returned into flight; but not longe after, when they sawe the Englishmen of so small number, some deale encouraged they armed them, and ¹⁰ all at one assault assayed there enemies; whome by reason that they were so vnequall by number, that some of them oppressed in such manner tooke towers of the walls and mightely stode in them at there defence, some others leapt the walls into the ditches, and hidd them amonge the vyne;² and generally they had left the gate so broken that the Frenchmen in short time coulde not make purueyance to close it againe. At this time the aforesaide Earle of Huntington, wth his company that also pursued the same enquest, was approached so neere the Towne that he plainelie might heare the noyse ²⁰ of those two parties when they fought, at the hearinge whereof he wth all his companie gaue his spurrs to there horsse, and hasted them to the succour of there first companie, that were wth in the Towne vpon the walls and in the Towers, and also they that were hidd in vyne yards apperceiued as men all recomforted, assembled themselues together and came to there aduersaries more ardently then before;³ and to the contrarie the Frenchmen, as all discouraged and in dispaire to saue the Towne, at the sight of these newe rescues that came to th' Englishmen, leauinge behinde them all there riches and sub- ³⁰ stance, endeouored themselues to escape this perrill by flight. And so the Towne of Pontoyse auoyded of all Frenchmen, was left free to the Englishmen. When the certen knowledge thereof was come to the Kinge, the most deuoute Prince to

¹ where some of them . . . entrie an interpolation by the Translator, adopted by Stow. It comes from Monstrelet, iii. 332-3.

² multi mortis metu e muris in fossas desiliunt *Livius*.

³ Ecce comes cum reliquis suis laborantibus subsidium audito tumultu citatissimis equis ad oppidum tendit, quem ut videre laeti magis ardentem pugnare Anglici *Livius*.

God, he assembled such bisshopps and other of the spirituality as he had at that time wth him, wth whome wth his temporall lords, estats, with greate joy giuinge thanks to the immortall God he went in procession aboute the Towne of Maunte, the clergie in right greate devocion singinge this himme, Te Deum laudamus &c. Briefelie after this enterprise thus atchiued, this most victorious Kinge wth all his companie went to the Towne of Pontoys, where he aboad by a certen time ; from whence, there in the time of his journey,¹ he sent the most
 10 excellent Duke of Clarence, his brother, wth a chosen power The Duke of Clarence commeth before Parris. to Parris, the principall and chiefe Cittie of all Fraunce, to beholde and viewe the scituacion and strenght of it ; before w^{ch} Cittie when this Noble Duke had tarried the space of certaine daies and had seene and perceaued all that liked him, seeinge that none of the Frenchmen woulde issue out of the Cittie to fight with him, and wearied wth his long abidinge there, hee returned to the Kinge, and acertained him of all that he hadd seene.²

³ At the xvijth day of August that noble and puissant
 20 Kinge departed from Pontoys wth all his armye, after he had deputed to the same captaines and garrisons as he thought necessarie. And because the Castell of Rokinvilliers⁴ had done certaine inhumayne cruelties in the Kings lands that borderedd there abouts, in intent to repress there mallice the Kinge lodged himselfe not farr from that Castell, and from his lodges he sent certaine companies to assault and also to assiege the same Castell, where both the inhabitants and garrisons feared so much the Kinge, [that],⁵ as men desperate
 30 of all succoure, they yealded to the Kinge the Castell and all the goods and substaunce that were wthin the same ; and at the instance of a noble Lady of those parts all the inhabitants wthout there goods, and the garrisons wthout there armors, were suffered peaceable to departe. Then all the Townes, Castells,

¹ post nonnullos alios [*sc. dies*] *Livius*.

² ubi per aliquantum temporis invitis civibus et qui regebant illos cum permansisset hostiliter expectationis longae taedio, licet obvium cum armis nullum conveniret, ad regem revertitur *Livius*.

³ *Livius*, pp. 77-8.

⁴ Vauconvilliers ; Bokyndevillers, or Rokinvillers *Livius* ; Bokinuillers *Stow*.

⁵ *om. MSS.*

and houlds wthin a greate circute, hearinge of the deliuerance of the same Castell, wthout abydinge battaile, assaulte, or siege, desyringe rather to liue vnder the Kings obeysance then to proue the chaingeable fortune of warr, yealded them to the Kinge. But that stronge and mightie Towne of Guysours¹, whereof also the Castell is more defensible then the Towne, woulde not submit him to the Kinge. This Towne was environed wth dubble walls, and defensible with greate and broade fenns, wth marshes instead of ditches.² Towards this Towne the last day of August the Kinge wth all his companie¹⁰ tooke his journey, wth he inclosed with his tents and pauillions; but that was farr from the Towne, for at his first comminge the fenns and marshes woulde not suffer him to approach the Towne.³ At the Kinges cominge betwixt him and the Towne were manie greate and sharpe battells and assaults; but at all times the Englishmen, wth everie daye approached neere to the Towne, putt the Frenchmen to flight, and made them to recoile wthin the walls. No strenght of theire enemies, no gunns, nor engins, nor arbalasters, nor bowes, nor stroakes, nor woundes might make the Englishmen giue place to there²⁰ enemies: wherefore at the last the garrisons and inhabitants of the Castell and Towne thinkinge it follie longe to resist so greate a victor, and so invincible strenghts and powers, altogether wth one consent accorded to treat of peace. And wth the Kinge thus they couenaunted, that if the Towne were not deliuered from this perrill by the eight of September, and the Castell, because it was much more of strenght and defence then the Towne, by the xxiiiijth⁴ of the same moneth, they shoulde deliuer them freely both to the Kinge; and when those daies lymitted was come and no succours of the Frenchmen³⁰ appeared, they of the Towne and of the Castle obserued there couenaunts wth the Kinge; and the most parte of the garrisons and of the inhabitants of the Towne (first geuinge to the Kinge there oath) remained continually vnder the Kings obeysance; and the men of warr receaued of him wages to defend the Towne from his aduersaries, and to keepe it to his vse.

¹ Gisors.

² maximis non modo fossis sed irriguis valde paludibus *Livius*.

³ but that . . . the Towne an *interpolation* by the *Translator*.

⁴ *The Translator follows the better reading* viii. Kal. Octobris.

¹In the meane time the Dolphine assembled an hoast of xx. Enguer-
 thousand men at Monstreaun and Francyon² in purpose to unt.
 fight wth the Englishmen. And for the same by letters signed
 wth his hand he sent to Troys in Campaigne³ for the Duke
 of Burgoine, desiringe him to haue his companie in this
 journey. Att whose request the same Duke, incontinent
 vppon the sight of his letters and vppon the suertie of the
 Dolphins oathes safelie to come and safelie to goe, came vnto
 him at the place aforesaide; where notwthstandinge his
¹⁰former oath and promise, against both Gods Lawes and mans The
 lawes he caused him most cruellie to be murthered. And Duke of
 after his death the Dolphins servaunts dispoyled him of his Burgoine
 aray, and cast his bodie naked in a vile stagne or pitt.⁴ murdered by the
 Whose sonn and heire, Phillip the Duke of Burgoine, after he Dolphine.
 had knowledge of his tyrannie, councelled herevppon wth all
 his subiects, freindes and alies, and after good deliberacion
 taken he determined by messengers to seeke the grace and
 fauour of this most victorious Prince, the Kinge of England.
 And for that purpose the most auncient and prudent orators,
²⁰that then were in Parris, aswell of them that belonged to the
 Kinge of Fraunce, as to the Duke, were sent to the Kinge of
 Englande to the saide Towne of Guysours. Of whome at
 there cominge these ambassadors desired a truce and respite
 of warr, that at there convenient leasure they might treat of
 peace and mooue some appointment betwixt the Kinge of
 England and of Fraunce and the aforesaide Duke of Burgoine.
 The Kinge receaued these ambassadors very benignlie, and
 feasted them, and rewarded them much liberallie. And when
 he hearde the intent of there message, he refused not the
³⁰communicacion of peace, for aboue all things he desired it;
 but to the delayes of his warr he woulde in no wise assent.
 And as to the Duke of Burgoine he promised him easelie to
 obtaine his grace and fauour, if wth good works he woulde

¹ *Monstrelet*, iii. 338-47; adopted by *Stow*.

² *A misrendering of Monstereau où Fault-Yonne; Monstrex & Faulcien Stow.*

³ Troyes en Campaigne.

⁴ *With this sentence the Translator resumes from Livius (pp. 78-81). Monstrelet (iii. 347) says the Duke was stripped excepté son pourpoint et ses houseaulx, and buried in the church of Notre-Dame.*

seeke it ; but for that in the meane time he woulde not desist from the continuance of his conquests. Then the ambassadors takinge this for an aunswere departed from the Kinge and returned to Parris.¹ After whose departure the Kinge wth all his noble armie returned to Maunte², where of his hoast he made three battailes, whereof he then deliuered to that noble Prince the Duke of Glocester, whome he sent to subdue vnto his Empire that stronge Towne called Saint Germaines, w^{ch} after manie battailes, assaultes, and skirmishes, in short time was yealded to him for the Kinge ; and the second¹⁰ battaile he sent to the Castle of Mount oye³, w^{ch} in like manner fearinge the Englishmens prowesses yealded them vnto the Kinge ; and wth the third of the said battailes the Kinge in his owne person went to assiege Millane⁴, w^{ch} aboue all other was most stronge and almost impregnable. The scituation of this Towne was in a plenteous isle betwext two armes of the Seen⁵. No man might approach so nighe this Towne, as to assault it by land, but only by the bridge, and by water no vessels might come vnto it for the multitudes of piles that were fixed and hidd in the riuers. This Towne²⁰ was also defended wth highe and stronge walls, wth in it also were people of greate number, aswell of th'inhabitants, as of the garrisons of men of warr that were purposelie deputed for the defence of the Towne. This mightie Kinge, consideringe in euerie thinge the streight and defence of this place, w^{ch} by land was inaccessible except onlie by the bridge, assembled diuers shipps and other smale vessells, wherein by right greate labour he first auoyded and clensed the riuier of the aforesaide piles and stakes ;⁶ and this done, he made all the aforesaide vessells to be fastened together wth chaines, and then he com-³⁰maunded to be made certaine smale castells and turrets of tymber, w^{ch} when they were finished he intended to bringe by streight of men in those shipps to the Towne, and in them to assaile the walls ; but the inhabitants and garrisons of the Towne were so feared at the sight of those turrets, that

¹ *This sentence is interpolated by the Translator.*

² Mantes. *Stow reproduces this narrative exactly.*

³ Montjoye.

⁴ Meulan.

⁵ Sea MSS. and *Stow* ; Sequanae *Livius*.

⁶ wherein . . . stakes *an interpolation by the Translator.*

before they were all finished by there assent they sent the captaines to the Kinge to treat of peace wth him, w^{ch} was graunted them vppon this condicion : that if they were not rescued by the last daie of October from this assiege by the Frenchmen, they shoulde freely deliuer this stronge Towne to the Kinge. And when this day was come and no succour sent vnto them, the Towne, as was couenaunted, was deliuered to the Kinge; the garrisons whereof were suffered to goe peaceablie where they woulde ; and the more part of th'inhabitants were
 10 sworne to be true liegemen to the Kinge, and were suffered to continewe in the Towne. When these three stronge places were yealded thus to his Ma^{tie}, the King returned to Maunt againe, where he gaue not himselfe to rest and sloth but wth maruelous solicitude and dilligence he laboured continuallie. For almost no day passed but he visited some of the holds, Townes, and places, and of euerie thinge that they needed he instored. He ordayned in all parts sufficient garrisons for theire defence. He victualled them. He repaired there Castells, Towers, and walls. He clensed and skoured there
 20 ditches, and generallie all things that coulde be thought necessarie he purveyed for them.¹ At this time returned to the Kinge to Maunte the wise ambassadours of Kinge Charles, of the Duke of Burgoine, and of the Cittie of Parris, to treat of there longe desired peace. But because the Kinges minde was all intentiue to the arts of warr, and that he thought they would not inclyne them enoughe to the waie of peace (notwth-standinge that they had often desired it) there treatie at that time attayned to none effect. Wherefore, as frustrate of theire purpose, they returned to them from whome they were sent,
 30 and the Kinge on his parte attained to his warrs. After so manie conquests of the Englishmen the Castell of Galliard² hauinge confidence in his maruelous streinght did manie cruelties and displeasures to the Kings places, that were borderers vnto it ;³ of the Castell the situacion was such : it was

¹ For all these details Livius has simply: auxilio decretisque suis subsidium afferens. *Stow passes on from the siege of Meulan to the dispatch of Exeter to Château Gaillard.*

² Château Gaillard.
³ Erat et aliud castellum quod Normanni de Gaillard nominant. Quia sibi munitissimum videbatur contra regis propinquas terras incolentes hostilia multa violenter inferebat Livius.

edified vppon the Riuer of Seene vppon the topp or height of an inaccessible hill, enuironed wth maruelous high and thicke walls; and wthin it was replenished wth men not most expert and apt for warr, but they had good experience in Geometrie and carpentrie,¹ and coulde right well deuise and make engins and slinges, both for theire owne defence and also for the anoyaunce and distruction of theire aduersaries. They had also wthin the Castle as innumerable gunns and other nesessible engins of euerie fashion and quantitie; there wanted nothing that might be thought needfull for a stronge 10 place; they had aboundance of victualls, and of other things necessarie for the bodie and profitablie of theire life. All w^{ch} things notwthstandinge, they were seriouslie brought to the knowledge of the most inuincible Kinge. Neuerthelesse he sent his vnckle, the Duke of Excester, wth a stronge power to lay seige vnto it; who imediatlie by the Kings commaundment enuironed the walls thereof wth tents and pauillions, and inclosed the Frenchmen from all issue; w^{ch} vppon the Englishmen made manie assaults and cruell skirmisshes, but at all times they were constrayned to recoyle them wthin the walls. 20 The Englishmen were wearied wth no assaultes of theire enemies. Wherefore the castelines perceauinge² almost by the siege of vij months th'Englishmen coulde not be wearied wth anie labour, but that euery day they were more prompt and ardent, and more coragious in there inquests then other, and that all the Townes and Castles, there neighbours, were yealded vnto the Kinge, assembled them together and concluded amongst themselues what was to be done herevppon. And after longe deliberacion, as they that were in dispaire of anie ayde of the Frenchmen, and knewe the constancie of the 30 Kinge in assieginge of houldes, w^{ch} for no occasion might be mooued from any assiege vntill the attayninge of his enterprise, and fearinge if they shoulde longe continewe in there contumacie they shoulde not fynde grace when they woulde, at the xxth 3 daie of December they yealded them to the Duke for the Kinge.

¹ *The rendering of the Translator is incorrect: Viros praeterea multos non modo strenuos, sed et arte geometrica peritos Livius.*

² proceedinge MSS.; Quod animadvertentes obsessi Livius.

³ v. Idus Decembris (9th Dec.) Livius; octavo die Decembris Pseudo-Elmham, p. 243.

¹ Then presentlie was entered the feast of the Natiuitie of our Lorde, w^{ch} solemnitie and all the accustomed daies of the same the most deuout Kinge deliberated to hallowe in the Cittie of Roane. And because whilst he was geuen to deuotion, by the intermission and respite of warr his enemies shoulde not be encouraged to euell, he constituted certaine captaynes to restraîne there mallice and to suppress there power in the meane time. Of w^{ch} captaines the Earle of Salisbury, whome he sent to take the Toune of Frensy²,
¹⁰ was one. The inhabitants whereof and also the garrisons, at the Earles first comminge, issued asperly vppon the Englishmen; but after a short time they were soone wearied of there labour, in so much that for the paine of there trauell and for the feare of the English power they yealded them to the saide Earle for the Kinge. The noble Earle Marshall and the Earle of Huntington was sent by the Kinge to subdue to his empire the prouince of Shenon³, where the Dolphine had deputed a greate captaine wth a stronge power of menn of warr to resist the English inuasions; w^{ch} captaine, when he was aduertised of
²⁰ the comminge of these two Earles, in greate hast mett them wth his power and gaue them battaile, where they fought longe and maruelouslie cruell on both parties. But the Englishmen, as they that feared not the death for the recouerie of the Kings right, excelled so farr the Frenchmen in there valyantnes, that they remayned conquerors in the fiede and put theire aduersaries to flight, of whome they first slewe manie, and manie they maymed⁴, and of them also they tooke prisoners to a greate number. Thus these two noble Earles, victors of the fiede, subdewed vnder the Kings empire the
³⁰ province of Shenon wthout anie other greate resistance of the Frenchmen, or anie other acts of warr that are to be recounted. Whilst for these things and manie other victories the Kinge perseuered⁵ in the Cittie of Roane laudinge and honnoringe the sole Creator and redeemer of the worlde, the Legats of

¹ *Livius*, pp. 81, 82.

² Fresnay-le-Vicomte in *Maine*. Fresveysins or Freiny *Livius*; Fresea *Stow*.

³ Maine; Cenomannia provincia *Livius*; Shenon *Stow*.

⁴ mayned *MSS*.

⁵ Whilst these and many other victories were atchiued, the King continuing *Stow*, who afterwards follows the *Translator* very closely.

Kinge Charles and of the Duke of Burgonie came againe to the Kinge to Roane to treat of peace. Where of the Kinge they were right honnorable receaued; and because he would not be noted to be th'occasion of warr, and the distruction of the country, he sent wth them to the Kinge of Fraunce and the Duke of Burgonie his ambassadors wth full authoritie to conclude this longe sought peace. Of w^{ch} ambassadors the principall was the Earle of Warwicke, who the Kinge knewe well to be maruelouslie wise and apt both for peace and warr. And in his companie sent also certaine Bissshops and diuers 10 other discreet and wise men. This ambassage was first brought to the Duke of Burgonie, because he was next vnto them and not much out of there right waie; whose armie¹ in this journey tooke diuers houldes and places that were pascefied and confederate wth the Earle of Arminake², who fauored the Dolphins partie, and gaue his consent to the death of John the late Duke of Burgoine; and thus they continewd there journey vntill they came to the Cittie of Troys, where they founde Kinge Charles of Fraunce, and the Queene his wife, and that beauteous Ladie Katherine there daughter. And 20 after not manie dayes of respite they entred comunicacion of peace wth the Kings Councill of Fraunce; in w^{ch} comunicacions, after diuers and manie motions on both parts made, the waie of peace was founde betwext these two Kings by alyance. That is to say by a marriage to be made betwixt the most victorious Kinge of England and dame Katherine daughter to the Kinge and Queene of Fraunce; but because they perceaued manie things that conueniently might not be concluded wthout the presence of the Kinge, as well of the apposition of there seales for the ratefinge of the same articles 30 for this peace, as for the solemnitie of the matrimonie, and also for that Kinge Charles was a man of manie yeares and was often troubled and vexed wth his accustomed infirmitie, they condiscended one both parties that the Kinge of Englande at a certaine day amongst them lymitted shoulde come to the aforesaide Trois, wth as greate an armed power for the sauefgard of his person as [he]³ would, [to]³ ratefie and

¹ una cum ducis exercitu *Livius*.

² Armagnac.

³ *om. B.*; as he coulde and also to performe *H*.

also to performe the saide couenaunts of peace. And at w^{ch} daie appointed if he fayled to be there, all this comunicacion and mocions of peace shoulde be voide. And because in the meane way whereby the Kinge shoulde come were two stronge bridges, ouer w^{ch} of necessitie he must passe: that is to say Charingdon¹ and Nogent²: at w^{ch} places the Kings iourney might lightly be impeached and let, both the saide bridges were freelie deliuered into the gard of the Englishmen. These things thus concluded, couenaunted, and reduced into writinge, to that noble lorde wth his companie retourned to there most victorious Master, the Kinge; to whome he declared all things by order as they were graunted and accorded; who rather affectinge peace then battaile (not wth standinge he was most victorious and fortunate in his conquests) was content in all things to performe that appointment. Wherefore he prepared for his iourney; he sent from diuerse his Castells, Citties and Townes for certaine number of his knights and men of warr, whose comminge he abode at [Pontoyse]³. His people were the number of xvj thousande,⁴ of whome the more part were
 20 archers; [whome when they]⁵ were come vnto him, he commaunded to be lodged in there tents and pauillions in the felde wthout the Towne;⁶ and when the time was come that he woulde depart towards Trois⁷ for the accomplishment of there couenaunts, as he was accustomed, he deuided the people in three parts and batailles, and two wings; and in that
 30 manner the viijth day of May, in the viijth yeare of his most
 victorious raigne, he entered his iourney towards Trois.

Anno
Regni
viij.

⁸ In the iourney he passed by the Towne of S^t Dennis, and by Parris, the Metropolitaine Cittie of all Fraunce, before w^{ch} cittie in a faire playne and large felde he sett his batailles in
 30 arraye, as if he shoulde haue foughten wth the Cittizens of the

Enguer-
unt.

¹ Charenton, on the Marne.

² Nogent-sur-Seine.

³ Blank in MSS.; ad oppidum Pontoise Livius.

⁴ Livius does not give the number, which is taken from Monstrelet (iii. 388) et seize mille combatans ou environ, dont il y avait la plus grande partie archers.

⁵ om. MSS.

⁶ A gloss by the Translator; Livius has simply, ex oppido in agros suos omnes educit.

⁷ Troyes.

⁸ The reference to Monstrelet is an error; the paragraph follows Livius, p. 82.

same, w^{ch} cittizens vppon the walls of the Cittie, and the towers and steeples, stooode to beholde the Englishmen.

¹ And from thence he went into a prouince, w^{ch} the Frenchmen call Brie, where by assault he tooke a Castle that labored to let his journey. And the castilians of the same parte ² he put to death, and the rest of them he ledd in captiuitie wth him. And from thence he passed by the Towne of Prouince ³, and by the Towne of Nogent, w^{ch} standeth vppon the riuer of Seene; and so continued this journey vntill he approached the Cittie of Trois in Champagne; of whose cominge when Phillip, ¹⁰ Duke of Burgonie, was aduertized, he went with a companie of knights, noblemen, and ⁴ estats to meet the Kinge wthout the Cittie; whome he receaued wth greate honnour and due obeysance. Then this most victorious Kinge, accompanied both of Englishmen and of Frenchmen of euerie state and degree, entered the aforesaide Cittie of Trois, the streets whereof wthout anie abidinge he passed vntill he came to the Kings pallace, ⁵ where Kinge Charles and the Queene his wife abroad his cominge; of whome at his cominge to the Pallace he was receaued goodlie and after princely manners and wth ²⁰ the most louinge words that coulde be deuised; for at that time Kinge Charles was not vexed wth his infirmitie, w^{ch} troubled him but at times. When then this victorious Kinge of England was thus royallie receaued of Kinge Charles and the Queene his wife, after the due resolucion of his partie made vnto them, he departed thence; and by the Duke of Burgoine and other greate stats, as well of England as of Fraunce, he was conveyed to his lodges. ⁶ This Cittie was deuided into two parts, whereof th'one halfe was assigned to the Frenchmen and Burgonians, and the other parte to the Englishmen. ³⁰

¹ *Livius*, pp. 82-3.

² partie *B.*; quosdam *Livius*.

³ *Provins*.

⁴ *The MSS. are imperfect; B. reads* cominge . . . aduertized a companie . . . estats. *Livius* has Quod ut scire potuit Philippus Burgundiae Dux, cum grandi procerum et equitum comitatu victori regi cum primoribus et urbis obviam veniens. *Stow* has: Troys in Campaigne where he was mette by the Duke of Burgoygne accompanied with many noblemen three leagues without the Towne. See p. 192 below.

⁵ to the Kinge *MSS.*; ad regiam Karoli *Livius*; Kings pallace *Stow*.

⁶ When then . . . lodges an expansion of Inde rex invictissimus cum maximo comitatu suum in diverticulum vadit. *Stow* follows the Translator, but reads: resolutions on his parte made vnto King Charles and the Q.

And because that parte that was assigned to the Englishmen sufficed not to receaue them all wthin the walls, but that a greate parte of them must be lodged in the subberbes of y^e Cittie ; the Kinge of England, because that his people on that partie shoulde haue free concurse together, caused the walls on that part of the Cittie, where he was lodged, to be cast to the grounde. At this time the Kinge ordered and decreed many necessarie things amongst his people for there bodelie health ; amongst w^{ch} one was this, as I finde written,¹
 10 because the wines of the countrie were so famous² and stronge, and that Englishmen had not bin accustomed wth such drinks nor that was not naturall for them : this prudent Prince, The
 desyringe the health and wellfare of his people, caused to be Kings
 proclaymed thorough his hoast, that no man shoulde presume great care
 vppon paine of his displeasure, as to be punished at his will, to of his
 drinke any wines wthout puttinge to water. Manie other souldiers
 things he decreed for the proffit of his people, that for the health.
 lenght of the matter I shall heere ouerpasse, and consequent-
 lie returne to other matters.³

20 ⁴ Because Kinge Charles, as it is afore rehearsed, was often troubled wth his accustomed disease, w^{ch} was to him an impediment to gouerne both his singuler acts and the publique weale, in the time he was in whole minde and good remembrance he gaue authoritie and power to Isabell, his wife and Queene, to Phillipp, Duke of Burgondie, and to certaine other of his Councell, plenarilie to conclude the peace wth Kinge Henrie for him and for his Realme of Fraunce vnder such condicions as after shalbe declared more at large ; and also to proue, ratyfie, and confirme the same by oath solemnized in the per-
 30 son of Kinge Charles, wthout fraude or malinge, in all things to be obserued and kepte vnto the saide Kinge Henrie, his heires and successors, by the saide Kinge Charles, his heires and successors. And the same Kinge Charles in the worde of a Kinge promised, and also bound himselfe and his heires, to houlde firme and stable all and whatsoeuer things of peace shoulde be made, promised, graunted and concluded by his

¹ quia scriptum et non sine causa comperio *Livius*.

² fumosum *Livius*.

³ For this last sentence *Livius* has simply : Nunc ad maiora pergamus.

⁴ *Livius*, pp. 83-5.

saide Queene and by the Duke of Burgoine, and others of his Councell as is aforesaide, to him deputed [for] the same.¹ And the xxjth day of May, in the xlth yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Charles, and of the victorious raigne of Kinge Henrie the eight, in the Cathedrall Church of Trois, the victorious Kinge Henrie, with the puissant Duke of Clarence, his brother, and other the Dukes, Earles, Bisshopps, Barrons, Lords, and estats of the realme of Englande, and other prelatts and wise men expert both in the Lawes of God and of man, and Isabell, Queene of Fraunce, wth the mighty Duke of Burgoine, and 10 others of the Kings Councell of Fraunce, and in that partie of his speciall commissioners for and in the name of the Kinge of Fraunce, and also for themselues and in there proper names, in a greate assemblie of estates of Fraunce, vulgarlie called a Parlyament, wherein the three estates of the Realme were present², concluded the peace betwext the two Realmes of England and of Fraunce, and the same by th'assent of the whole Parliament there ratified and proued wth condicions and articles that hereafter doth followe. And the same daie were made two writinges or lettres contayninge the manner and 20 effect of peace, w^{ch} writinges were sealed wth the broade seale of the saide Kinge Charles; by w^{ch} writinges the same Kinge Charles gaue in commaundment to all the Princes, Dukes, Busshopps, Archbisshopps, Earles, Barrons, Knights, Mayors, Bayleifes, and generallie to all other his Lieges,³ vppon payne that they should be noated as traytors, that they shoulde obserue and keepe this peace, and cause to be obserued and kept; and also that they shoulde make their oath to Kinge Henrie of Fraunce⁴ to keepe and mainetayne the same peace and appointments inuiolate and vnbroken. Then ime- 30 diatlie Isabell the Queene, and the Duke of Burgoine, in the name of the saide Kinge Charles, as they had of him authoritie and commaundment, made a solemne oath vppon the Euan-gelists that the same Kinge Charles, his heires and successors,

¹ and others . . . the same *an interpolation by the Translator.*

² tribus videlicet statibus, ut crebrius usurpant, nobilibus, clericis, et populis *Livius.*

³ Principibus, proceribus, Praefectis, baillivis, et, ut eorum verbo loquamur, militibus, antistibus, sacerdotibus, civibus et oppidanis *Livius.*

⁴ regis Angliae, regentis et Franciae *Livius.*

shoulde obserue and keepe wthout fraude or deceite the peace betwext the saide two realmes wth all manner condicions and articles made and concluded for the same, and shoulde also cause and procure all the same to be obserued and kept. And the same oath the Queene Isabell and the Duke of Burgoine in there owne names, and for themselues their heires and successors, made vnto the Kinge¹ for him his heires and successors. The wordes of the Dukes oath were these: 'I, Phillipe, Duke of Burgoine, for me and my
 10 'heires, sware and make oath vppon these holie Euangelists
 'to Henry of England² and heire apparaunt and regent of
 'Fraunce, for my Soueraigne Lorde, King Charles, that
 'meekely and faithfullie [we] shall obey the same Kinge
 'Henrie in all things that appertayne to the crowne of
 'Fraunce, or to the common weale of the same realme. And
 'imediately after the death of the saide Kinge Charles our
 'Soueraigne Lord, we shalbe true and faithfull leiges to the
 'saide Kinge Henrie, his heires and successors.³ And further
 'more we shall not be of Councell nor giue our consent to
 20 'nothinge that maie be the preiudice of the same Kinge
 'Henrie, his heires and successors, wherein they may suffer
 'any derogacion or detriment of their bodies, of their mem-
 'bers, possessions and honnors. And if we knowe of anie
 'conspiracion against him, his heires and successors, we shall
 'signifie it vnto him in all the hast to vs possible either by
 'letters, or else by our trustie messengers, that they may
 'the better prouide to eschewe the perrills thereof.' When
 the Dukes oath was in this manner finished, as manie as
 were there present both of the Kings Councell, and of
 30 the Parlyament by Bishoppes, Lords, Knights and Commons⁴
 made the same oath to the Kinge. And the xxiiijth day
 of the same moneth of May the Chancellor of Fraunce,
 and manie other Lords, Bisshopps, prelats, and noble men

¹ Henrico regi *Livius*.

² to Henry of Englande *om. B.*; Domino Henrico regi Angliae *Livius*.

³ *The Translator does not render*: nec alium quempiam pro domino nostro supremo Franciae regem quam Henricum et suos heredes habebimus neque patiemur.

⁴ Parliamentum, antistes, praefecti, baillivi, cives, et incolae meliores *Livius*.

of the Realme gaue the like faith and oath to the Kinge Henrie.

King
Henrie
marieth
with
Charles
his
Daughter
Kinge of
Fraunce.

¹ The said third of June, w^{ch} then was the next day after the feast of the Holie Trynitie,² beinge present the Councell of Kinge Charles, [the Duke of Burgoine]³ Isabell the Queene of Fraunce, and also the valliant Duke of Clarence, and manie other Bisshopps, Lords, knights, and gentlemen of England, that were come thether wth the Kinge,⁴ the Sacrament of Matrimonie was solemnely sacred⁵ betwixt the most victorious Kinge Henrie of Englande and that excellent and glorious¹⁰ Lady, Dame Katheryn, daughter to Kinge Charles of Fraunce and to Dame Isabell the Queene. The peace was confirmed betwext the saide two Kings and there Realmes, and was reduct into writinge in the tenure of these words: 'Kinge 'Henrie from nowefoorth, duringe the life of Kinge Charles, 'shall not name nor write himselfe Kinge of Fraunce, nor of 'his people he not suffer himself to be named or written. 'After the death of Kinge Charles, Kinge Henrie shalbe 'Kinge of Fraunce peaceably wth his heires and successors. 'And because Kinge Charles, by reason of his infirmitie, is²⁰ 'vnable to gouerne the common wealth, Kinge Henrie duringe 'the life of Kinge Charles shall rule and gouerne the realme of 'Fraunce, to the proffit and honnor of the same Kinge 'Charles. Kinge Charles in all his writings shall name the 'same Kinge Henrie our sonn and heire of Fraunce, and shall 'cause him to be named and written in all his lettres that 'shall passe his Seale, wherein it is requisite that the name of 'Kinge Henrie be contayned during the life of the saide 'Kinge Charles, Kinge Henrie shalbe written Kinge of 'England and heire and regent of Fraunce; and in like³⁰ 'manner he shall write himselfe, in all things that shalbe 'authorized vnder his owne Seale, Kinge Henrie shall call 'Kinge Charles his Father, and Queene Isabell his Mother, and

¹ *Livius*, pp. 85-7.

² *Livius* has simply eodem die sc. 23rd May. The true date was Trinity Sunday, 2nd June. The Translator follows Monstrelet, iii. 389.

³ om. MSS.; supplied from Stow; Duce Burgundiae *Livius*.

⁴ The Translator omits: proceribus, equestri ordinis militibus, antistibus, divini humanique juris consultissimis viris.

⁵ The Matrimonie was solemnized Stow; connubium . . . solemniter celebratum est *Livius*.

'so shall honnor them.¹ Nor Kinge Henrie shall not prohibite,
 'wthhoulde, nor defraude ² Kinge Charles, his Father, of the
 'crowne of Fraunce, nor of the issues nor reuenues thereof;
 'and the Queene his mother at all times duringe her life, he
 'shall keepe duringe her life her due estate belonginge to her
 'Ma^{tie}. And that the saide Kinge Henrie wth better minde
 'and will shall obserue and also performe all those couenants,
 'Kinge Charles and Queene Isabell shall giue to him that
 'chast and excellent Ladie Katherine, there daughter, in
 10 'marriage. To whome (as shortlie as he maie after the
 'mariage solemnized) Kinge Henrie shall giue for her dowry
 'xl. thousand scutts of yearelie reuenues wthin his realme of
 'Englande, and after when he shall peaceably possesse and
 'enioy the crowne of Fraunce he shall giue vnto her xx.
 'thousand scutts of yearely rents in the realme of Fraunce.
 'Kinge Henrie shall call vnto him the Councell of good and
 'wise men to gouerne the Realme of Fraunce. And whilest
 'he is yet regent he shall obserue and keepe all the lawes,
 'iurisdiccions, and priuiledges of the Parlyament of Fraunce.
 20 'Kinge Henrie being Regent shall after loue, and wth justice
 'and equity, gouerne the Realme of Fraunce, and wth fauour;
 'and the Princes, Dukes, Archbisshopps, Bisshopps, Earles,
 'Barrons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, Prelatts, Clarks,
 'Burgesses and Commons, subiects to the Crowne of Fraunce;³
 'he shall also minister Justice, so that it be indifferentlie
 'ministred by his office thorough the same realme. He shall
 'at all times chuse and substitute such Justices, Mayors,
 'Sherifes, Baylifes, Constables, and other officers of the
 'Realme, as shall obserue the lawes and droytes⁴ of Fraunce.
 30 'He shall neuer oppresse nor charge the Realmes of Fraunce,
 'nor subiects of Kinge Charles wth no exactions nor payments
 'of money wthout lawfull cause. Kinge Charles shall giue

¹ Publicae literae quae scribentur Karoli nomine semper ipso vivo in quopiam forte casu Karoli commodum concernente regis Henrici Angliae Franciaeque Regentis nomen inscribendum foret semper scribuntur, Karolum patrem, Isabellam matrem Henricus nominato, sic honorato *Livius*.

² defeate *Stow*.

³ Regno, Proceribus, &c. Henricus Regens secundum justum, aequum et bonum faveto *Livius*.

⁴ *Blank in B.*; jura *Livius*.

‘ commaundment to all the three estats of the Realme of
 ‘ Fraunce¹ that they shall giue to Henrie, Kinge of England,
 ‘ heire and Regent of Fraunce, the same oath that is before
 ‘ written of the Duke of Burgoine, and to bringe that to effect
 ‘ he shall dilligentlie indeauour him. Kinge Henrie by arms
 ‘ and streight shall attaine, chastice, and reduce² vnder the
 ‘ obeysance of Kinge Charles his empiere all rebells wthin the
 ‘ realme of Fraunce, in as much in him is, and namelie all
 ‘ those that obstinatlie be confederats wth the Dolphine, and
 ‘ wth the Earle of Arminake. And whatsoever he getteth or¹⁰
 ‘ conquereth vppon the rebells (except in the Dutchie of
 ‘ Normandie) it shall remaine vnder the obeysance of Kinge
 ‘ Charles; and they that nowe be rebells and disobedient to
 ‘ Kinge Charles, and hereafter will seeke for peace and wilbe
 ‘ sworne to continewe his true liegmen, all there goods,
 ‘ hereditaments and possessions, that shalbe taken from them
 ‘ in the time of there obstinacie by battaile, shalbe restored
 ‘ vnto them againe. And all they that fauoured Kinge Charles
 ‘ and the Duke of Burgoine, and liued vnder their tuition,
 ‘ and were by the Englishmen depriued of there possessions,²⁰
 ‘ Kinge Henrie shall cause them to be restored to them againe,
 ‘ except such lands as were geuen by the Kinge at that time
 ‘ to his complices. And yet in the same cause the same
 ‘ Kinge Henrie, when he shall peaceablie inioy the crowne of
 ‘ Fraunce, shall cause the same lands and hereditaments to be
 ‘ restored to there former possessors,³ so that they will giue
 ‘ him⁴ their faithes and continewe his true liege people.⁵
 ‘ When Kinge Henrie shall possesse the Crowne of Fraunce,
 ‘ then the Dutchie of Normandie, and other lands that he shall
 ‘ conquer by armes, shalbe vnder the Monarchie of Fraunce³⁰
 ‘ as part of the same Realme.’

‘ There shalbe no peace nor concord made nor taken wth
 ‘ Charles, that calleth himselfe Dolphine of Fraunce, wthout
 ‘ assent and Councill of Kinge Charles, Kinge Henrie, and the

¹ Principes scilicet, Duces, Proceres, Comites, magnates; et nobiles, antistes, sacerdotes, et clerici; Cives, Burgenses, oppidani, castella, rusticique *Livius*.

² debellans domansque deducito *Livius*.

³ possessions *B.*; possessoribus *Livius*.

⁴ them *B.*

⁵ so that . . . people *an interpolation by the Translator*.

⁶ *Livius*, p. 87.

'Duke of Burgoine, and the three estates of Fraunce and
'Englande.'

¹ 'All men that desire peace, before eight monethes be
'finished, may lawfully demaunde it. Vppon all and singuler
'couenaunts, pactions and agreements before rehearsed in
'writings shalbe published vnder the seales of both the
'Kinges.'²

³ Confederations⁴ and aliance is assured also wth the Duke
of Burgoine in this forme: 'Phillippe, the Duke of Burgoine,
¹⁰ 'shall indeauour to cause the saide peace to be concluded
'betwext the two Kings wth all there articles and couenants
'to be houlden firme and inuiolate; and that thinge he shall
'procure and mainetayne wth all his power; nor he shall not
'in any consent nor suffer that anie articles thereof be broken
'nor desolued, for as much as in him is to resist it; and for
'his good minde in that behalfe one of his sisters shalbe
'geuen in marriage to one of the bretheren of Kinge Henrie.
'King Henrie shall fauour and mainetayne the Duke of Bur-
'goine and all the rights of his dominacion as his most deere
²⁰ 'brother. And after the death of Kinge Charles⁵ the Duke
'of Burgoine shall make his oath to this true alegiance⁶ to
'Kinge Henrie, as to his soueraigne Lorde, in manner as is
'afore written. Duke Phillippe shall at all times be freindlie
'and fauorable to Kinge Henrie and his successors. Kinge
'Henrie shall laboure wth all his strenght to haue due
'punition done vppon Charles that is named Dolphine, and
'vppon others that were culpable of the death of John, late
'Father of the Duke of Burgoine; if the Dolphine or anie
'other guiltie of the saide murther be taken in battaile or
³⁰ 'in place assieged, he shall not be deliuered wthout receiuinge
'due punishment, except it be by consent of Kinge Charles,
'Kinge Henrie, and the three estates of both realmes. And
'whereas the Duke of Burgoine hath, by his paine and laboure
'and councell, a fee by patent of Kinge Charles and Isabell the

¹ *Livius*, p. 87.

² Super omnibus et singulis praedictis pactis . . . publicae regis utrius-
que sigillis tabellae scribentor *Livius*.

³ *Livius*, pp. 87-9.

⁴ Considerations *MSS.*; Ictum est et foedus *Livius*.

⁵ Charles and *B.*

⁶ fidelitatis iusjurandum *Livius*.

'Queene, so y^t Duke for his aide and counsell and amitie
 'a fee of the yearelie value of xx. thousand pounds Parris to
 'himselfe, to Mighell his wife, and to the heires males of
 'theire two bodies begotten to be taken and receued of the
 'reuenewes of the Crowne of Fraunce. And for the same the
 'saide Duke of Burgoine shall continue his accustomed hom-
 'age to the Crowne of Fraunce.'¹ After the fynall end and
 accomplishment of his marriage and couenaunts and condicions
 ordayned and ratified in all points by the aduice of men, hee
 at the instance of Kinge Charles and his Councell, accompanied
 of the same Kinge, of the two Queens Isabell and Katherine,
 and of the Duke of Burgonie, departed from Trois and tooke
 his journey to Parris, the Metropolitan Cittie of the Realme.
 And from Parris,² not manie daies after, they all went to laye
 siege to the Cittie of Sens, w^{ch} was vnto them contrarious and
 an enemie; but tofore all those were set in there places
 appointed, and tofore anie assault or skirmish, the captaines,
 cittizens, and garrisons submitted there bodies, the Cittie, wth
 all that they had to the Kings obeysance. Then when all
 things were there ordered to there profitt and for the defence ²⁰
 of the Towne, they hasted them by the most speedy way they
 coulde to Monstran on Saulton,³ where John the late Duke of
 Burgoine was slaine; and the Towne thereof was taken by
 force at the first assault; and the Castell, w^{ch} for the strenght
 thereof, might longe haue resisted the Kings power, was forth-
 wth deliuered to the Kinge. Then the bodie of the saide late
 Duke of Burgoine, w^{ch} first after his death was cast into a vile

¹ *The Translator's rendering of the last clause is inaccurate*: Pro studio laboribusque Burgundi ducis, quod velut patentem cautionem habet a Karolo rege Isabellaque regina, Burgundus dux propter suas terras feudum habeat a corona Franciae cum proventus annuis librarum xx. milium Parisiensium pro se Michaelaque sua conjuge, suis et heredibus virilis sexus ex utroque parente descendentibus. Henricus rex omni studio curato, sique prius fieri non poterit, cum primum Henricus corona Franciae coronabitur, ipse rex in feudum dictos proventus annuos praefato duci solito cum homagio Franciae dato vel dari facito *Livius*.

² *Henry did not visit Paris, but went straight to Sens, which surrendered on 11th June. Livius is obscure*: Senonensem ad urbem obsidendam Parisius metropolitanam sibi rebellem; *this probably means that Sens was the metropolitan see of Paris. Here Stow (who omitted much of the Treaty) resumes.*

³ Montereau-ou-Fault-Yonne. Mostreau on Saulton, or Monstereau on Foulcdyone *Livius*.

pitt, and after by a certaine inhabitant of the Towne secretlie taken vpp and buried in the principall Church of the Towne, nowe was taken vpp from the sepulture and transported to the Cittie of Dyiion,¹ Metropolitan and cheife of all Burgoine, where he was buried in the Abbie of the Charterhouse wth greate solemnitie, w^{ch} monasterie Duke Phillippe, father to the saide John, was founder of. After the conquest of Monstrean, at the xvth day of Julie, the two Kings and the Duke of Burgoine set there assiege before Millomie,² whereof the
 10 Towne was verie defensibile and stronge, but the Castell of same was much more stronge, and in a manner inexpugnable. This Towne and Castell was enuironed wth the Riuer of Seene, and seemed like a little islande. The captaine thereof was the Lord of Guyan, whose name was Barbason, a stronge knight and manlie, and most excellent of deeds of armes of all the knights in those daies that ³ were knowne in Fraunce. This captaine, at first asseige of the Towne, at the sounde of a trumpet assembled a councell all the knights, souldiers and inhabitants of the Towne and of the Castell; whome he
 20 commaunded, vppon paine to loose there heads, that none of them shoulde presume to speake, treate, or mooue for anie composicion of peace or deliuerance of there houlds to the two Kings, except the saide captaine where the first moouer thereof.

⁴ The Kinge of England, at his first approach to this Towne, set his people on the south side thereof, and the Duke of Burgoine was on the north side. And in such manner they helde the Towne assieged in manie and greate anguishes and afflictions, vntill the xth of Nouember.⁵ In w^{ch} meane time
 30 (as the Frenchmen doe report) ⁶ the Kinge of Englande sent his Harrauld to the Captaine Barbasone commaundinge him to deliuer the Towne and Castell to him, w^{ch} aunswere when the harralde had reported tofore the two Kings, Captaine Barbason's aunswere was this, that he receaued neither the Towne

¹ Dijon; Oppidum de Dinione *Livius*.

² Melun; Oppidum de Meleduno *Livius*; Melune *Stow*.

³ That *om. B.*; in re militari per omnem orbem clarissimus *Livius*.

⁴ *Livius*, p. 89.

⁵ *Livius* has simply ad Novembrem.

⁶ Here apparently begins the Earl of Ormonde's story. But see also *Monstrelet*, iii. 412.

nor the Castell of him, therefore he woulde deliuer none vnto him. And when the Kinges heard this aunswere, the French Kinge, of whome the Captaine had receaued the garde and care of this Towne and Castle, sent vnto the Captaine his herraulde to commaunde him in his name to deliuer his houlde vnto him as to his Soueraigne Lorde. But the Captaine nothinge obeyinge his commaundement sent vnto him this aunswere sayinge: 'When I receaued of him the charge and 'government of this Towne and Castell, the Kinge my Souer- 'aigne Lorde was at free libertie and gouerned by no man, but 10 'by his Councell and true Liegemen. And since that time 'the Kinge of Englande, who came into this Realme as his 'emie to take from him his Crowne and to conquer his 'realme, hath obtayned the rule and gouernment of him, by 'whose aduise and Councell I perceau he commaundeth me 'to deliuer these places. And therefore in that thinge he 'commaundeth at th'instaunce of him that is an aduersarie to 'the whole Realme of Fraunce, I ought not nor will obey his 'precepte. But when I shall see him in his former libertie, 'and out of the gouernaunce of the Kinge of Englande I 20 'shall in all his commaundementes be obedient to him as to 'my Soueraigne Lorde, and vntill that time I shall, to my 'power, keepe to his vse those places w^{ch} he deliuered vnto 'me.' When this aunswere was come to the Kinge of England he commaunded in all hast possible to vndermine the earth, in purpose by these meanes to subuert the Walles of the Towne, or else secretly by them to enter the Towne. Howbeit they were letten from that purpose by the Frenchmen of the Towne, w^{ch} countermined the Englishmen, and mett them wthin the earth, where betwixt them were manie manlie 30 batailles and encounters. But first of all Kinge Henrie, hearinge two greate Lordes of his hoast in variance because either of them woulde haue made entrie first into the same myne, to appeach that discorde he entered first into the same myne; and in like manner the Captaine Barbasan was the first on that part of the Cittie that entered the same myne, for that he encountered the Kinge, so that they two fought together right mightely. And after a longe bataille betwixt them, and that either of them had demaunded others name, at the

King
Henrie
and
Barbasan
mett in
the myne.

first Barbasan knowledged his name to the Kinge vppon condicion that the Kinge shoulde in like manner disclose his name vnto him, and saide vnto the Kinge: 'I ame Barbasan, the 'Captaine of the Towne and Castell.' Then the Kinge, as he hadd promised, said: 'And I ame Henrie "par la grace de 'dieu."¹ At w^{ch} aunswere Barbasan, knowinge evidently wth whome he had foughten, commaunded that the bararers wth in the myne to be closed, and woulde no longer fight, but departed from the myne and went into the Towne, and the
 10 Kinge returned to his hoast.¹

² In this manner continued this assiege, vntill at the last, Titus Liuius. after manie cruell assaultes, skirmishes, and batailles, the Frenchmen of the Towne and of the Castell had fayled meate and drinke by the space of vj continued daies, by occasion whereof they were constrayned to deliuer the houldes to the two Kinges, w^{ch} was done vnder the appointment that the inhabitantes and souldiers should haue free libertie to goe whether they woulde, wthout dainger of displeasure, except all those that were aydinge or consentinge, or otherwise culp-
 20 able of the death of the late Duke of Burgoine; w^{ch} if any such were there, they couenaunted to deliuer in bonds to the Kinge, to the end that they shoulde be iudged in the Court of Parliament to condigne payne for there offence. And of them were many in this towne, w^{ch} were after condemned by the lawe and put to execucion, amongst whome the saide Captaine Barbasan was accused of this homicide by Phillip, Duke of Burgoine, by his mother, and his sister openly in Court, where the Captaine defended himself of this accusacion, graunted himselfe to knowinge thereof, in so much as he was
 30 one of the greatest of the Dolphin's house, and most familier wth the Dolphine, but not consentinge nor giuinge his counsell to that murther in no wise;³ by w^{ch} accusation it was thought he was not culpable thereof. And therefore he was

¹ *This narrative is given in a shortened form by Holinshed (iii. 122) as from the Translator.*

² *Paraphrased somewhat fully from Livius, pp. 89, 90.*

³ *Monstrelet, iii. 347, with reference to Duke John's murder says: Auquel Barbasan fut moult desagréable, et tant que par plusieurs foiz reproucha à ceulx qui avoient machiné le cas dessusdit, en disant qu'ilz avoient destruit leur dit maistre d'honneur, et de chevence.*

Trans-
lator.

not condemned nor iudged to death. And because for the manie obiections that were spoken against him, he was not cleerelie discharged, but was committed to prison in Paris, and after in the Castell of Gaillard,¹ where he remayned as prisoner by the space of ix yeare; but at the last the Castell was occupied by them that secretly fauored the Dolphin's part, by whome the saide Barbasan was deliuered, and by that meane escaped the dainger of prison. Howbeit, as I haue heard often the forenamed Earle of Ormonde² reporte by the opinion of the Frenchmen, as he learned in the time of his¹⁰ soiourne amongst them, that when the kinge, for manie displeasures that he had receaued by him, and especially for the death of the saide late Duke of Burgoine, intended to put the saide Captaine Barbasan to death, he appealed from the Judgement of the Kinge to the Judgement of the officers of armes, and that alleadged to be lawfull cause of his appeale, that by the lawe of arms no man hauing his brother in armes at his possession and at his will ought not to put him to death for anie displeasure or occasion, and that he was brother in arms to the Kinge by armes, and approued that he had fought²⁰ wth the Kinge hand to hand wthin the myne, as is aforesaide; w^{ch} battaile was houlden by Herraulds of Armes in like strenght and if he had fought wth the Kinge body to body wthin the listes. And his appeale was by them for that cause approued, and by good deliberacion they iudged that by lawe of armes, they might not put him to death; wherefore he was adiudged by the Kinge to perpetuall imprisonment. And when he had bin a certaine tyme prisoner at Parris, he was sent to the Castell of Gaylard, where wthin a greate Dungeon he was enclosed in a grate of yron of the quantetie of a little³⁰ Chamber. And besides that the Captaine of the same Castle, whose name was Kingstone³ and was borne in England, made the same Barbasan to giue him his faith to continewe his true prisoner and not to depart wthout his lycence. And longe after, when the same Castle was againe recouered by the Frenchmen by the deliuerance of the Englishmen, the Frenchmen findinge the saide Barbasan aliue, whome tofore they

¹ Château Gaillard.

² See *Introduction*, p. xxxvi above.

³ Thomas Kingston.

beleueed to be deade, were maruelouslie reioyced wth the recouery of him. And wth all the hast possible they depesshed and brake in peeces the saide Cage of Iron, wherein he was inclosed and inuironed, to deliuer him from his prison ; but in no wise he woulde depart that gate vntill the English capten had discharged him of his oath. Wherefore the Frenchmen vnder safe conduct sent to the English captaine, w^{ch} then was departed vppon such appointments as were convenient at the deliuerance of the Castell, prayinge him to come vnto
 10 them, at whose instance he returned and discharged Barbasan of his oath. And then the said Barbasan departed from the prison. Then to returne to our former matter. ¹ When the Towne and Castell of Millane were thus deliuered to the two Kings, they wth there Queenes, and the Duke of Burgoine, wth there whole hoasts returned to Parris ; against whome came the cittizens of the same Cittie in rich apparrell. Who, wth the Uniuersitie, conueyed Kinge Charles wth his Queene to his Pallace royall ; and that done they, wth the Duke of Burgoine, conueyed the Kinge of England and his Queene to
 20 there lodges. At this time by the commaundment of King Charles where come to Parris the three Estates of the Realme of Fraunce, wth whome manie things concerninge the common weale were treated. And [in] ² diuerse parts of the realme discreet men and such as had experience in the lawe were constituted baylifes and ministers of Justice. And that done, before the two Kings sittinge in their seate of Justice, and before the whole Courte of Parliament by three ³ procters of profound learninge, whereof the one was a Doctor of the Ciuill lawe, the second of Cannon, the thirde a Doctor of
 30 Diuinitie, Duke Phillippe, beinge there, and his mother and his sisters, who at that time were absent, accused diuerse persons of the late Duke of Burgoine, ⁴ declaringe and inlarginge the trespase, and after Ciuill lawe demaunding life for life, after Cannon lawe desiringe satisfaccion for the trespase, as to builde Houses of religion and namelie where the murther was committed, or else to doe some other

¹ *Livius*, pp. 90, 91.

² *om. MSS.*

³ theret *B.* ; per patronos tres *Livius*.

⁴ contra patratum facinus a Delphino de morte Johannis ducis accusationem fecere *Livius*.

works of chastitie or charitie¹ for the ghoastlie comfort of him that was slayne. The custome, of Fraunce is that no man shall desire a trespassor, and that hath deserued execution of death or punishment in members, to be judged for his trespassed; but the procurator of the Kings treasurie beinge thereof wholie instructed, ioyned wth him the proctors of the plaintifes.² And for the Kings cause, and for the common wealth he demaunded this iudgement to be geuen against the Dolphine, and all others that were culpable and consentinge to the death of John, late Duke of Burgoine, that as manie of them as might¹⁰ be taken, either by battaile or at siege, shoulde be put to death, and all the resedue shoulde be exiled; and all their goods, as well moueable as not moueable, shoulde be forfeited to the Kinge; and that the Dolphine shoulde be depriued of the succession of the Realme, and shoulde be declared vnable to succeede his father. W^{ch} iudgement seriouslie, and as is rehearsed,³ Kinge Charles, sitting in his state royall, with assent of all this Parliament decreed and inacted to be effectuall and of force. And the same so decreed he commaunded to be published, and after that proclaymed; w^{ch} sentence and²⁰ iudgment, duringe the life of the saide Kinge Charles, was neuer after by him reuoked. When this Parliament in forme aforesaide had taken an ende, and that these iudgements were solemnely published, at the seconde daie of Januarie Duke Phillip of Burgoine, wth good lycence of both the Kings, departed from Parris and returned into his Countre of Flaunders. At the vijth daye of Januarie then next followinge King Henrie with Dame Katherine his Queene, by th'assent of Kinge Charles leauinge his vnckle the Duke of Excester at Parris, wth the Kings Councill returned into England,⁴ in purpose to³⁰ crowne his Queene Queene of England; wthout w^{ch} coronacion⁵

¹ vel alia opera pia ad inferias piaculæ defuncti *Livius*.

² nisi quod procurator fisci rem diligenter audiens et considerans, postquam plane doctus est iudicium criminis, se cum actoribus jungens fieri petit. Ut igitur oratores et patroni Burgundiae ducis rem exposuerunt, peroptime doctus illam procurator fisci cum actoribus se jungens pro causa regis, &c. *Livius*.

³ Quod, ut dicitur, per dictum procuratorem petitum *Livius*.

⁴ relicto cum consilio regis Excestriae duce Parisius et in Normannia regente duce Clarenciae fratre suo, qui dum ipse rex esset in Anglia dux in praelio caesus est, in Angliam *Livius*.

⁵ possession *B.*; qua sine coronatione *Livius*.

he might not haue possession to her dowry that the Kinge had couenaunted to giue her. But tofore his departinge out of Fraunce he had deputed to the gouernour of Normandie the Enguer-
 puissant mightie and prudent Duke of Clarence, his brother ;^{unt.¹}
 w^{ch} Duke after the kings departinge into England, hearinge
 that the Dolphins hoast was come in great number to Bangué,²
 prepared his hoast to goe against them ; and when he had
 iourned so much that he was come nigh vnto them, he left
 behinde him all his archers and footmen,³ and only accom-
 10 panied wth his horsemen and speares he hasted him wth all
 dilligence towards his enemies, who also on there partie,
 knowinge the archers and footemen were left behinde of the
 English, aduaunced themselues against the Dukes companie ;
 betweene whome was begunn a maruelous cruell and blodie
 battaile, but at the last the discomfiture returned vppon the
 Englishmen. On whose partie was slayne the saide noble The
 Duke of
 Duke of Clarence
 gentlemen of his companie, to the number of two or three slaine.
 thousand souldiers and speares ; and of the same partie were
 20 taken the Earles of Somerset and Huntington and about ij. C.
 others of the Englishmen. And of the Frenchmen also were
 slaine manie great lords and captaines, and to the number of
 vj. C. or thereabouts⁴ of the Dolphins party. Neuertheles
 after this great discomfiture of the Englishmen the Earle of
 Salisburie wth the English archers and footmen, w^{ch} followed
 the Duke wth all the hast possible, rescued and recouered the
 bodie of the Duke of Clarence, w^{ch} after was solemnelie buried
 in England. Then to returne to our former purpose. ⁵ After
 the Kinge had ordered and disposed all things as he thought
 30 necessarie and most behoouefull, he entred his journey towards
 England, in w^{ch} voyage of the Kinge and of the Queene was
 engendred Kinge Henrie the vjth, that was after borne in
 England, and nowe resteth intumelate in Windsor.⁶ Also

¹ *Monstrelet*, iv. 24, 37-9. *Livius* has only the brief reference quoted above. *Stow* follows the *Brut*, p. 427.

² Baugé ; blank in *H*.

³ This detail comes from the *Brut*, pp. 492, 563.

⁴ mille à onze cents hommes *Monstrelet*.

⁵ *Livius*, p. 91.

⁶ Hoc in itinere genitus es Henricus sextus, in Anglia qui natus *Livius*. Henry VI was born on 6th Dec., 1421, buried at Chertsey in 1471, and translated to Windsor in 1484.

this is not to be forgotten: the Kinge before his departure from Parris of his owne proper money, whereto he was not bounden, he satisfied and paide all Judges and other officers of the highe Courte of Parliament all such duties, salaries and wages that were owinge vnto them. Then when the King was arriued in England, he made his excellent Queene to be crowned after the custome of England. And that done he assigned to her dowry tenn thousand marks English. At this his nowe beinge in England he consented to the deliuerance of the Kinge of Scotts, who had long bine prisoner in 10 England. Whose deliuerance was graunted in such manner that tofore his departinge out of England he shoulde take to his wife the Duke of Somersetts sister, neece to the Cardinall of Winchester, w^{ch} Cardinall was the principall counsellor and procurer of that marriage and deliuerance.¹

Titus
Livius
Regni ixth
1421.

² In the ninth yeare of his most victorious raigne, at the middest of sommer, after he had gathered and receaued an infinite somme of money w^{ch} the commons had geuen him for the performaunce of the warrs, leauinge in England his Queene, the Kinge wth a greate companie of men of warr, as Enguerunt³ 20 reciteth to the number of xxx. M. men, returned into Fraunce, And accompanied only of his houshold seruants, leauinge his greate hoast by the way, he came sodainelie to Parris, late in the eueninge, to see the state of the Kinge of Fraunce and of his Queene. And not manie daies after he returned againe to his people; in w^{ch} returne he tooke the Castell Dreux at one assault. And when he heard that his enemies prepared them to battaile, he approached the Flood of Loyer,⁴ about w^{ch} flood it was saide his enemies were; where, for peraduenture he might meet wth them, or that they woulde abide his 30 comminge, he intended to fight wth them. But against him came no man, nor no enemie aboade his comminge. Then the Kinge began to compasse about the Flood, thereby the rather to prouoke his aduersaries to battaile; but his trauaile was in

¹ *This notice of James of Scotland is inserted by the Translator. The negotiations were not completed till 1423.*

² *Livius*, p. 92.

³ *Monstrelet*, iv. 44; *Trois à quatre mille hommes d'armes, et bien vingt-quatre mille archers; the numbers of Henry's army did not much exceed one thousand.*

⁴ The river Loire; flumini Ligeris *Livius*.

vayne ; and, that worse is, in perambulacion of the riuer his hoast was sore trauelled wth famyne and defaulte of victualls, that a manie of them, as well of men as of horses, perished for hunger. Wherefore this wise Kinge, entendinge to this disease to prouide a remedy, left the perambulacion and ledd his hoast to a Towne, beinge the Cittie of Sens, called the Kings newe Towne ;¹ of w^{ch} Towne as well the garrisons as the inhabitants, hauinge no plentie of victualls, yealded themselues and the Towne to the Kinge. In the moneth of October, when Kinge
 10 Henrie had deliuered the Cittie of Parris from all her enemies that vsed in any thinge to grieue her, leauinge at his backe manie smale castells and piles yet his enemies, he went wth his hoast to asseige the Cittie of Meaux, to w^{ch} city is a place
 right nigh and as adioyninge to it called the market of Meaux ;
 betwext these two places floweth² the riuer of Marne, w^{ch} also inuironeth and compasseth both the same places. In these places were manie armed men ; and allmost innumerable riches were brought together thether from all the Citties, Townes and villages that were nigh vnto it, and left to be kept
 20 in this place as in the most stronge houlde of all that countrie. The captaine of that place was the Bastard of Vairorne,³ who tofore this siege had committed and done verie manie cruelties and tyrannies, as well against the cittizens and commons of the countrie as against all those that were taken in skirmishes and battailes. This Cittie was assieged all the winter, wherein was so manie and greate stormes and flouds of the rayne, that the Kings hoast was oftner troubled wth hunger and colde ; to w^{ch} disease the Kinge by his wisdome prouided at all times a short remedie. ⁴ Whilest this siege continued, the lord
 30 Osmound⁵ (w^{ch} vppon certaine appointments had deliuered
 to the Duke of Burgoine the Towne of St Regnieur,⁶ whereof he was captaine) confederate wth him xl. of the best men of warr that coulede be found in anie place, with whome he delib-

The Cittie
of Meaux
in Brie.

Enguer-
unt.

¹ ad oppidum, quod Regis villa nova dicitur, ultra Senonensem urbem *Livius* ; to the city of Sens, commonly called the Kings new towne *Stow*. It was *Villeneuve-le-Roi on the Yonne*.

² followeth *MSS.* ; fliut *Livius* ; floweth *Stow*.

³ Vaurus ; Bastardus de Vauru *Livius*.

⁴ *Monstrelet*, iv. 81-3. *Stow* makes no use of this passage.

⁵ Guy de Nesle, Sire d'Offemont,

⁶ Saint-Riguiet ; Requyr *H.*

erated shortlie to enter the Cittie of Meaux to aide and succoure them of the saide Towne; vppon w^{ch} deliberacion, when he wth his said companie in the night secretlie had passed th' English hoast notwthstandinge there watches [and] were come nighe to the walls, his fortune was such that a little bridge, wherevppon he had begunn to pass the Ditch of the Towne, brake in sunder, and the same Lorde in his harnes fell into the Ditch; and by the noyse that his companie made in sauinge of him they were espied and taken of the Englishmen. Amonge whome the saide Lord Osmounde was taken alieue; but at his takinge he was greiuouslie wounded in the face and was taken prisoner and brought to the Kinge, to whome he was after sworne to obserue, all that in him was, those couenants that were made betwext the two Kings of England and of Fraunce, and vppon th'assurance of his oath he was deliuered from his prison wthout payinge fynance or ransome.

Titus
Liuus.

¹ In the moneth of Februarie the knights that were in garrison, and the principall that were in the Citty of Meaux, perceavinge cleerelie that the sommer that was comminge shoulde cause this siege to be light and lesse painefull to the Englishmen there adversaries, and difficult and greiuous to themselves, by there common assent departed from this Cittie, and went into the place that tofore is called the Market of Meaux, as to the more defensible houlde; into w^{ch} place they conueyed there wth them much riches and greate abundance of victualls, leauinge behinde in the said Cittie the common people and others that were least apt to warr. And this they deuised among them, because the poore people and least actiue to warr shoulde not spend nor deuoure the victualls from the captaines and men of warr. After there departinge the common people that were left in the Cittie, hauinge no habillitie nor exercise of defence to resist the Kings power, yealded themselves and there cittie shortlie to the Kinge.

² At the moneth of May,³ in the xth yeare of the most glorious raigne, the king had so sore⁴ beaten the aforesaide

¹ *Livius*, p. 92.

² *Livius*, p. 93.

³ Ad mensem autem Aprilis *Livius*. *Stow as above. The date was 1st May.*

⁴ soone *B.*; soe beaten, *H.*; so sore *Stow*.

market of Meaux,¹ wherein the captaines and men of warr were wthdrawen, wth his gunns and engins, that he had made to all his hoast a free and a large entrie into the same.² Neuertheles he woulde not enter the place by force, but he constrayned the Frenchmen that were beseiged to condiscend to certaine couenaunts to deliuer the place vnto him. And that he ordered both to eschewe the effusion of Christian blood, that was like to be shedd in the forceable entrie of the Towne, as for to keepe the riches that were in that place from
 10 dispoylinge and loosinge; for he thought it more conuenient to be distributed wth good orders to his captains and souldiards after there desert, then to be spoiled, stolne, and embeasled. And also for that he woulde haue deliuered to his hands certaine malefactors that were amongst them, to th'intent that they shoulde suffer ponishment condigne to there demeritts. After a longe continewaunce of this siege, and that the captaines and gentlemen that were besieged sawe euedentlie that the Kinge woulde enter the place by force if they deliuered it not the sooner, w^{ch} thinge they perceaued he might well doe
 20 wthout his greate preiudice, and as men that were desperate of anie other succour³ they delivered this Market Meauxe⁴ to the Kinge, and also all there owne bodies to doe his pleasure wth, sauinge to either of them there liues; of whome manie of them were ledd prisoners into England, as the Bishopp of the same Cittie, who shortlie after was visited of God by sicknes and dyed there in England; and diuers others were brought into Englande, of whome manie paynge there fynances were deliuered after; and many others of the same Cittie were deputed prisoners in other places beyound the seas to the
 30 number of vij. or viij. C. men;⁵ but from that couenaunts to haue there liues saued iiij^{or} persons were reserued⁶ and except, vppon whome for there vices and accustomed tyrannies justice shoulde be executed. That is to saie the Bastard of Vaurine, captaine of the said Citty, who after the deliuerance of him was beheaded, and his body hanged vppon a tree one a highe

¹ Manex B.² same *om.* B.³ After a longe . . . succour *a gloss by the Translator.*⁴ Meanxe B.⁵ *This and the previous clause come from Monstrelet, iv. 96. Stow follows a London Chronicle.*⁶ receaued MSS.; reservati *Liuius.*

hill nighe vnto the Citty, w^{ch} then was called the Tree of Vaurus, for the manie tyrannies he had committed therein, for in the same tree he vsed to hange the cittizens poor men.¹ [And shortly after]² were deliuered into the Kings hands the Towne of Crepie in Valois, the Castle of Pierpont, Meralawe,³ Offemount, and manie others. After the renderinge of these Townes and Castells the Kinge returned to Parris. In w^{ch} journey, when the returne of Queene Katherine was come to the Kings knowledge of England, and of Charles, Kinge of Fraunce, both these Kings wth the Queene of Fraunce, accom-¹⁰ panied wth manie greate lords and estats as well of Englande as of Fraunce, went into her meeting vnto Bois de Vistenne,⁴ where she was as joyouslie receaued of them as if she had bin an Angell from God. And the xxxth day of May, in the xth yeare of his most victorious raigne, w^{ch} was the Fryday next before the holy Sunday of Penticost, the two Kings of England and of Fraunce and there Queenes departed Bois de Visceinte and went to Parris in much royall estate. The King of England and his Queene were lodged in the Castle of Lowre,⁵ and the Kinge of Fraunce and his Queene were lodged¹⁰ in the pallace of S^t Paule;⁶ in w^{ch} two places these two Kings solemnized the feast of Penticost, euerie of them seuerally by himselfe. And the proper day of Penticost the Kinge of Englande and his Queene satt together at there table in the open hall at dynner, maruelouslie glorious, and pompiously crowned wth rich and precious diadems; Dukes also, Prelatts of the

¹ *A blank is left here in both MSS. A considerable passage of Livius is omitted, perhaps by an error of the copyist: et in eadem arbore vexillum, quod in praelio dictus bastardus ferre solebat, impositum est. Resus et alius quidem equestris ordinis miles ejusdem loci baillivus, qui tiranidem praedictam perpessus ei saepe consenserat, et alii duo de primoribus civitatis; et, ut eciam pacto cautum fuerat, accusati de Burgunda caede nonnulli traditi sunt curiae Parliamenti, e quibus aliqui postea Parisius sunt per publicam justitiam capite dampnati. Hac in obsidione evangelizatus est regi partus reginae tuae matris faustaue nativitas tua, quod nullum Christianissimo Principi faustius feliciusque nuncium, cum quod sibi liberi, tum quod virilis sexus a Deo dati fuissent, nunciari potuisset. Quas ob res devotissime gratias immortalis Deo nostro, tantum ob felicem successum et divinum donum, ingentes egit. Post autem purificationem partus in Franciam regina vertitur.*

² *Supplied from Stow.*

³ Merlan; Pier Pount-Meralawe *Stow.*

⁴ Bois de Vincennes.

⁵ Châtel du Louvre.

⁶ Hôtel de St. Pol.

Church and other greate estats of England and of Fraunce, weere satt euery man in his degree in the same hall, where the Kinge and Queene kepte there estate. The feast was maruelouslie rich and abundant in sumptuous delicate meats and drinks. That day the Court was open to all that woulde come to the feast; the cittizens and commons of Parris resorted in greate number. And the same daie Kinge Charles and his Queene solemnized that feast at their foresaide pallace of Saint Paule, accompanied wth fewe estats, as they that were
 10 had in obliuion of all the greate lords, and also of the commons of the Realme of Fraunce.¹

² When this solemne feast of Penticost was thus honnorable
 passed, the Kinge of England intended to those things that
 concerned the common weale of Fraunce; and therein he
 occupied himselfe right dilligently. And because diuers of
 his Citties were yet traūailed wth there enemies, as Amiens,
 Abuile, and others, wherevnto he intended to prouide a short
 remedy, he first sent his letters to all those parts that were
 so incumbred vnder the termes that followeth: 'Henrie by
 20 'the grace of God &c. To our most deere lieges send greetinge,
 'deliberinge greatly and busely vppon there profitts and
 'wealth. We think it necessarie to send into those parts our
 'lands, legions or companies of men of warr, to deliuer you
 'from your cruell aduersaries, wth whome we be informed
 'you are greiuouslie afflicte and vexed. But because in
 'assiege of Meaux our people were often trauelled wth famyne,
 'if ye promise to sell vnto vs plentie of victualls for our
 'money, at such prise as our messengers the bearrers of these
 'our letters shall shewe vnto you, whome we haue fullie
 30 'instruct of o^r intent vnto you in that behalfe. And if ye
 'will bringe the same victualls vnto vs, into our tents, we shall
 'briefely come vnto you; and if ye are minded otherwise, wee
 'are bound to fauour the wellfare and life of our knights and
 'men of warr. And thus fare ye well.' These messengers of

Titus
Liuus.

¹ All this passage comes from Monstrelet, iii. 99, 100.

² Livius, p. 94. On resuming the Translator modifies his original to fit it into his own narrative: Inde recta Parisius graditur Henricus, ubi dies nonnullos in hiis quae spectant ad rempublicam versatus est. Unde nuncios cum literis ad urbes et oppida babiloniae, Viromandiae mittit. Quarum haec erat sententia: 'Carissimis nostris salutem.'

the Kinge were receaued right benignely in those places that they were sent vnto; from whence, after they had done there message, returned to the Kinge wth right acceptable aunswers, wherewth the Kinge was right well content. Then the Kinge entended to deliuer these his Citties from the hands of his aduersaries, assembled his people. And of all other he went to the Towne of Compine,¹ adioyninge to those parts, wherevnto he had tofore sent his messengers. When the Kings voyage into these parts was come to the knowledge of his enemies, they assembled them in greate number, and in ¹⁰ all possible hast they went to the Towne of Coine², in the ouer part of the Liere³ in the Countie of [Nevers],⁴ w^{ch} Towne is distant from Parris a M. c. xx. pases,⁵ and to this Towne there they sett there siege. In this Towne, in their comminge vnto it, was a garrison of Borgonians; w^{ch}, for because they had no plenty of victualls, couenaunted wth there enemies at their first comminge, that if they were not reskewed by the Kinge of England, or by the Duke of Burgoine, by the xvth day of August they shoulde deliuer vnto them both the Towne and the Castell; w^{ch} appointment when it was ²⁰ shewed vnto the Kinge, he purueyed him of a chosen army, wherewth he hasted him to deliuer the Towne from his aduersaries. In like manner the Duke of Burgoine, aduertized of that siege, hasted him wth his hoast for the rescue of the same. In w^{ch} journey towards the Towne the Kinge was taken wth a greiuious malady, by w^{ch} he was constrayned to stay at a Towne called Carbuill,⁶ beyonde Parris x. M. paces; from whence he sent his brother John, Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Excester, and the Earle of Warwicke,⁷ wth his whole army to rayse this assiege; w^{ch} two Dukes and the Earle of War- ³⁰ wick accompanied them wth the Duke of Burgoine. And all they together went to the Towne of Coyne, from whence there aduersaries, aduertized of there comminge, secretly fledd and

¹ Compiègne.² Cosne.³ Loire; in superiori Ligeri *Livius*.⁴ Blank in MSS.⁵ millia passuum centum et viginti *Livius*; Cosne is about 100 miles from Paris, so that 120,000 paces would be fairly accurate.⁶ Corbeil; Carbueil *Livius*.⁷ *Livius* mentions only Bedford and Exeter; the Translator adds Warwick from Monstrelet, iv. 107.

aboade not there comminge. And so that Towne was deliuered from theire enemies, and perseuered in there first obeysance. In this time that noble and mightie Duke of Brittain sent his chauncellor, the Bisshopp of Maunt,¹ and the Bisshoppe of Venice,² accompanied wth two temporall lords and other counsellors, wth such authoritie and power to affirme and approue for him and his heires the same peace wth all the articles that was late concluded at the Cittie of Trois, betwixt the two Kings of England and of Fraunce. But the
 10 messengers of these ambassadors, by reason of Kinge Henrie his disease, tooke none effect at that time. Neuerthelesse the saide Duke of Brittain in his owne person performed the effect thereof after the Kings death in the Cittie of Amyans.³ The Kings disease dayly increased, vntill that most Christian Kinge yealded his soule to God, departed this life in the Castell of that is called Bois de Vistenne⁴ not farr from Parris; where at that time was present Kinge Charles and the two Queenes. But tofore his death this most prudent Kinge in his Testament disposed the care and garde of the
 20 younge Prince, his sonn, and the defence of the Realme of Englande, to his most deere brother, Humphrie, Duke of Glocester, who faithfullie defended that noble Prince Henrie, and gouerned and protected this his Realme in all peace and good obedyence, vntill he was passed the state of childhoode and of abilitie to see and prouide for the gouernance of his Realme. But the custody of the bodie of the younge Prince the Kinge committed to his vnckle the Duke of Excester, to endoctrine him in all good manners.⁵ And the reuenews of the Dutchie of Normandie the Kinge bequeathed to his right
 30 puissant brother John, Duke of Bedforde, for the gouernance and defence of the same Dutchie and of the Realme of Fraunce.

⁶ But to recite the manner of his departing from this present Enguer-
 unt.

¹ Nantes.

² Vannes; Vennes *Livius*.

³ Amiens.

⁴ Bois de Vincennes.

⁵ tui tutelam, primasque defensiones et curam Humfredo Gloucestriae duci, serenissimo tuo patruo, qui te summa fide tuaque tutatus est ad hos dies quibus te florentem et faustum videmus; mores autem, custodiam corporis, et doctrinam tuam illi Thomae Excestriae Duci *Livius*.

⁶ *Monstrelet*, iv. 111-16.

life, when this goodly and Christian Kinge was vndoubtedly acertaind of his phisicions that the time of his resolucion approached so nighe and wthin two houres, he called unto him the confessor and diuers other spirituall men, wth whome he saide the vij psalmes of pennance, and the Letanie wth the suffrages accustomed. And when in the ende of miserie¹ he came to this verce *benigne fac domine*, and wherein he contayned these words.² ‘O good Lord, thou knowest that if ‘thie pleasure had bin to haue suffered me to liue my naturall ‘age my firme purpose and intent was, after I had established 10 ‘this Realme of Fraunce in sure peace, to haue gon and ‘visited Iherusalem, and to haue reedified the walls thereof, ‘and to haue expulsed from it the Miscreants thine aduersaries.’ And when he had finished those words, he commaunded his priest to say forth and to accomplish there seruice begunn. W^{ch} done, after he had receaued the Sacraments of the Alter, and of extreame vunction,³ about that time that his phisicions had prefixed, he rendered his spirit vnto God, the last day of August, in the yeare of our Lord God 1422, and of his raigne the tenth yeare, and the xxxvjth 20 yeare of his age.⁴ For whose death the Duke of Bedford, his brother, and the Duke of Excester, his vncler, and generally all the other Princes, Lords, Estats, and Commons of Englande made greates lamentacions and bewaylings in right great anguish and heauines. Shortlie after his departinge his entrells were entered in the Church of S^t More de Fessens,⁵ and his corps well embalmed and seled, and was inclosed in a circle of lead.⁶ In this time the Duke of Burgoine came to Bois de Vincent, where the Kinge departed, to visite and comfort the two Dukes and the other estats of Englande, that 30 were there at that time; and after a fewe daies he departed

The
Death of
Kinge
Henrie,
1422.

¹ Psalm li (*Miserere mei, Deus*) verse 18.

² quand vint à *Benigne fac Domine*, où il y a *muri Hierusalem. Monstrelet.*

³ After he had . . . vunction inserted by the Translator.

⁴ in the yeare . . . age inserted by the Translator. If Henry was born in August, 1387, as commonly stated, he died in his 36th year. But Elmham (*Cronica Regum, ap. Engl. Hist. Review*, xxv. 62) gives 16th Sept. 1387, which is probably correct.

⁵ Saint-Maur-des-Fossés.

⁶ son corps bien embaumé fut mis en un cercueil de plomb *Monstrelet.*

from thence and went to Parris. The corps of the King accompanied wth all the Lords, Dukes, Estats and commons of England, that were for that time present there, and also manie Lords and greate Estats, as well of Fraunce and Normandie, as of Burgoine and Picardie, and also of diuers other places, was brought in greate order to Parris, and was sett vp wthin the Church of our Ladie;¹ where were done for him right solemnely exequies wth distribucion of money, and greate almes to poore people right abundantly; and from
10 thence after a short journey he was brought to Roane, where he abode longe. In this meane time those Dukes of Bedforde, of Burgoine and of Excester, wth other greate Lords, assembled them together at Parris to councell and to deliberat vppon the gouernaunce and intertaininge of the Realme of Fraunce. At w^{ch} assemblie and councell it was couenaunted and promised againe amongst them to continewe and holde all the Articles of Peace, that were lately treated and graunted betwext the Kinges of England and of Fraunce before recited by order. And after w^{ch} councell the
20 Duke of Burgoine returned wth his companie into Artois and Flaunders, and the Duke of Bedforde wth the other Estats of England to Roane to ordayne and dispose of the affaires for the Dutchie of Normandy, where at that timerested the body of the King: to w^{ch} place also about that time was brought the Queene of England in greate apparrell. When all things necessarie were prepared for the conueyaunce of the deade King into England, his body was laide in a Chariot, w^{ch} was drawne by foure greate horsse, and aboue the deade corps, they laide a figure made of boyled hides or leather represent-
30 inge his person as to the similitude of a lyuing creature, vppon whose heade was sett ann imperiall dyadem of golde and precious stones, and in his right hand he helde a scepter royall, and in his left hande a bowle of goulde; and in this manner adorned, was his figure layde in a bedd in the said Chariot, wth his visage vncouered toward the heauens; and besides that when the body shoulde passe thorough anie

¹ So *Monstrelet*; but other authorities state that the procession did not enter Paris, and that the body of the King rested at St. Denis. See *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 176, ed. Tuetey.

good Towne a cannopie of maruelous great value, such as is vsed to be borne ouer the blessed Sacrament on Corpus Christy daye, was borne ouer¹ the Chariot by men of greate worshipp. In this manner, accompanied of the Kinge of Scotts, and of all Princes, Lords, and Knights of his house, he was brought from Roane to Abbeville, where the corps were set in the Church of St^t Offrane.² In w^{ch} Church, as well as in all other places, seculer priests and other spirituall men in greate number watched wth the corps both by day and by night; and as well rydinge and iornyng, as abidinge and soioyrninge, the one after the other incessantly sange accustomed seruice and exequies for his soule. And daylie where the body rested, they sange masses for his soule, from the beginninge of the day vntill noone wthout ceasinge. From Abbuile he was brought to Hedin,³ and from thence to Menstraul,⁴ and so from Bullion⁵ to Callis.

In all this journey were manie men about the chariot clothed all in white, w^{ch} bare in there hands torches burninge. After whome followed all the housholde seruaunts clothed in blacke, and after them came the principall Lords & Estates of the Kings blood, adorned in vestures of lamentacions and mourninge. After all this from the saide corps the distance of two miles English followed the Queene of England right honorablie accompanied.

In this manner they entred Callis, from thence after a fewe daies they departed and continewed there journeys by water and by lande, vntill they came to London, where they arriued the day before St^t Martins in Winter.⁶ And when they shoulde enter the Cittie tenn Bisshopps wth theire pontificall adornements reuested, and manie Abbotts mitored, and manie other men of the Church in greate number, wth a right greate multitude of cittizens of the same Cittie, went out thereof to meet the corps and receaue it wth due honour. And all the saide spiritualitye, singinge the offices accustomed in like case, conueyed the saide corps by London Bridge and by Lumberd

¹ the blessed . . . ouer *om. B.*; qu'on la accoutumé de porter sur le corps de Jésus-Christ au jour du Saint-Sacrament *Monstrelet*; great value, was borne ouer the Chariot *Stow*.

² St. Wulfram; *Monstrelet* has St^t Offren, *Stow* St^t Offrane.

³ Hesdin.

⁴ Montreuil.

⁵ Boulogne.

⁶ 10th November.

street thorough the Cheape, vnto the Cathedrall Church of S^t Paule. When the Chariot wth the body shoulde passe thorough the Cittie, the Princes and the Lords of the Kings lynage went next vnto it mourninge and bewaylinge the Kings death. Vppon the formost of the iiij^{or} horses that conueyed the chariote were imbrodered the auntient Armes of England and of Fraunce, in one shielde quartered; vppon the second horses couerture was depainted the Armes of England and of Fraunce in one shielde quarterly, w^{ch} armes the same kinge
 10 vsed to beare in his life days; and vppon the cloth wherewth the third horse were couered was imbrodered the Armes of Fraunce, wthout any manner difference; and vppon the fourth horse were the Armes imbrodered that the puisant kinge Arthure by his life vsed to beare, w^{ch} were three Crownes of golde in a shielde of ashur. When his exequies were solemnely finished in S^t Pauls Church in London, he was brought from thence to be interred in the Abbey of Westminster amonge
 his noble auncestors; at w^{ch} interment all things generally
 were done more honnorable and solemnely then had bin seene
 20 in England at the buryinge of anie Kinge or Prince of longe time before. And in all this longe voyage from Boys de Vincent to Westminster the Kinge of Scotts accompanied the dead body, nor he neuer departed from the Queene vntill the buryinge of the Kinge.¹

King
Henrie
buried at
West-
minster.

Poli-
cronicon.

Thus this most victorious Kinge and renowned entred the waie decreed for everie creature, in the flower and most lustie time of his age.² In the time of his Raigne he was maruelous sage and circumspect, well expert in the things wherewth he intermedled. He was also stronge, hardie and of high courage:
 30 for the little time he raigned he atchiued manie and greate Conquests in Fraunce, and more then anie of his auncestors of longe time past coulde attaine vnto. And vndoubtedly he was so much feared and dreade amongst his Princes, Captaines, and Commons that³ the greatest Lord of his Companie how familier soeuer he were, w^{ch} durst in any thinge disobey his commaundement or ordinances, either Englishmen or Frenchmen, he ponished him wth due justice.⁴

Trans-
lator.

¹ *Policronicon*, p. 232.

³ that not *B*.

² *Quoted by Stow; H. omits this paragraph.*

⁴ *Monstrelet*, iv. 116.

Titus
Liuus.¹

After all these thinges and ceremonies of his buryinge were solemnly finished, as is tofore rehearsed, the Three Estates of the Realme of England assembled them together in greate number to take aduise and deliberacion amongst them, what was most necessarie to be don for the reigement and gouernaunce of the saide Realme of England ; where they concluded to take for their kinge th'only sonn of the late Kinge Henrie, whose name was also Henrie, w^{ch} was the vjth of that name since the Conquest of England, who at that time was but [eleven]² monthes of age or thereabouts ; vnder his obedience ¹⁰ (notwithstandinge his tender age) they wholie submitted themselves, and gaue vnto him his estate royall ; duringe whose infancie, the gouernaunce of this realme was committed to the Duke of Glocester, and the gard of his person to the Duke of Excester, accordinge to the minde and disposicion of the late Kinge his Father. And to the Duke of Bedford, by the aduise of the Kings greate counsellors, was geuen the reigement, tuition, and gouer[n]ment of the Realme of Fraunce, who right wisely, nobly, and manly ruled and gouerned the saide realme, for so longe as it pleased God to giue him life in ²⁰ this worlde, vnder the Kinge his Nephewe.

Enguer-
unt.

³ About this time the Duke of Bedforde was constituted Regent of Fraunce, the Kinge of Fraunce was surprised and taken of a greiuous and incurable maladie, by constraint whereof in his Pallace called S^t Paule in the Cittie of Parris the xxijth day of October, wherein the feast of xj M. virgins is solemnized, in the yeare of our Lord God M. iiij. C & xxij, and of his raigne the [forty-sixth]⁴ yeare, he rendered his spirit vnto God, at whose departinge were present his Chaunceller, his high Chamberlaine, his Almoners, and his confessor, ³⁰ wth certaine others of his officers and seruauents to a smale number, by whome he was enclosed in a circule of leade and kept in the Chappell of the pallace vntill the cominge of the Duke of Bedford to Parris, w^{ch} was xx^{tie} daies after the departure of the Kinge. And when the said Duke was come,

¹ *Livius*, p. 95, concludes his work with a summary of Henry's will, as on p. 181 above, but does not refer to any Parliament in England. *Stow*, however, quotes this paragraph as from *Livius*.

² Blank in MSS.

³ *Monstrelet*, iv. 120.

⁴ Blank in MSS.

the body of the late Kinge Charles was Right Honnorable and solemnely, wth exequies and seruices accustomed in such cases, interred in Saint Dennis amongst the noble progenitors, w^{ch} obseruaunces and seruices fully compleate and done, the Kinge of Armes of Fraunce, accompanied of manie Herralds and purseuants, wth a highe voyce, cryed ouer the sepulture of the French Kinge: 'God haue pittie and mercie of the right 'high, right excellent, and right mightie Prince Charles, Kinge 'of Fraunce, the vjth of that name, our naturall and Soueraigne
 10 'Lord'; and that cry done the same Kinge of Armes, accompanied as aforesaid, cryed in this manner: 'God of infinite 'mercie giue good life to Henrie by the grace of God Kinge 'of Fraunce and of Englande, our Soueraigne Lorde and 'Kinge.' And after that the saide officers of Armes cryed againe the same words the same tyme. After w^{ch} cry so done, all the same officers of Armes, and other officers of the Kings house redressed and aduaunced there mases, their wands, their white staues, and their flower de luces on high, cryinge wth one voyce: 'Viue le Roy Henrie, Viue le Roy Henrie.'
 20 And when all this seremoniall obseruances were accomplished and done the Duke of Bedford wth the Estates and Commons returned to Parris, where he longe treated and counselled vpon the common weale of Fraunce.

After those days that noble Duke of Bedford reduced vnder
 the Kinges obeysaunce manie Citties, Castells, Townes, and
 fortresses to the number of xxxiiij^{or} or thereabouts, w^{ch} by
 the life of the saide Kinge Henrie his brother were not gotten;
 he also vanquished the battaile that was greates and cruell, that
 was foughten at Verneuil¹ in Perche, where he discomfited the
 30 Frenchmen and slewe of them the Lord Dowglass of Scotland,
 and foure other Earles of Fraunce, and of the Commons to
 the number of x. M. persons. At w^{ch} battaile was also taken
 the Duke of Alanson, and manie other greates Lords and
 Estats. He also vanquished and tooke that Pucell Johane,
 w^{ch} helde party wth the Dolphine of Fraunce; who, after she
 was taken, was condemned at Roane, and there burnt. And
 amonge so manie and so valyant and noble acts by him, the
 said Duke of Bedford brought the younge Kinge Henrie into

¹ Verneuil, 17th August, 1424.

Fraunce, who in the journey accompanied of the Duke of Yorke, the Cardinall of Winchester, of the Earles of Warwicke, Suffolke, of Arundell, and of Huntington, and of manie other greate Lords and estats, arriued at Callice vppon S^t Georges day, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1430, and in the eight yeare of his age;¹ and from Callice he went in greate array vnto Parris, where the xvijth day of December next ensuinge² he was solemnely and maruelouslie tryumphant³ annoynted and crowned Kinge of Fraunce by the hands of the Cardinall of Winchester; w^{ch} coronacion so solemnely done and finished 10 the Kinge soiourned by certaine days at Parris; from whence he went to Roane, and from thence retourned home into England; where, after he was come to mans estate he continewed the rest of his raigne in greate warr and troubled busines, as in the Cronicles of England⁴ more at large it is contayned, who pleaseth it to beholde. Duringe w^{ch} time the Duke of Bedford, for as long as he was Regent of Fraunce, wth the aide of the noble Earle of Salisburie, the Lord Talbot, the Lorde Scales, and divers other noble men, made and atchiued manie greate enterprises against him that named himself²⁰ Dolphin of Fraunce, who, in like manner as the Kinge had also caused himself to be crowned Kinge of Fraunce; vppon whome the Duke of Bedford and the lords of England daylie conquered, increasinge Kinge Henries possessions in Fraunce, vntill Philippe Duke of Burgoine, who (as it is tofore rehearsed) was confederat to the Kinge of England both by his oath and by his writinge, contrary to his faith and honnor, forsooke the Kings partie and alied himself wth the Dolphine. And the principall cause that mooued him to this alienacion of his aliance was the countries⁵ of the countie of Pontewe and the³⁰ Lordship of Macon wth other lands w^{ch} the French Kinge gaue vnto him in full satisfaction and recompence of his fathers death for the more assurance, alyaunce, and amytie betwixt them.⁶ Notwithstandinge at the Councell of Arras, where was concluded the fynall peace betwixt the French

Trans-
lator.

Poli-
cronicon.

Enguer-
unt.

¹ *It should be reign.*

² *It was really 17 Dec. 1431.*

³ *Blank in B.; triumphantly anointed H.*

⁴ *Policronicon*, pp. 234-64; *Brut*, pp. 497-533.

⁵ *Countesse B.*

⁶ *Monstrelet*, v. 169, 170.

Kinge and the Duke of Burgoine, were manie greate offers made to the Kinge of England by the mediation of the Cardinall of Saint Croins,¹ who at that time was there present as a Legate sent from the Pope for the restablishe of the peace betwixt the Realme of England and Fraunce; w^{ch} offers were there refused by the Cardinall of Winchester and of other greate Lords of England, that were present there at that Councell for the Kings partie. After this Councell, as by the Cronicles of those daies euedently appeareth, the
 10 Duke of Burgoine was vnto the Kinge and people of Englande as greate an aduersarie as he tofore had bene to the Kinge his Father and to him a friende and conductor, by meanes whereof the Kinge lost daylie and yearelie in Fraunce all those Castells, Citties, fortresses and Townes that the Kinge his Father and the Duke his vnclie had conquered to his vse, vntill he was cleerely excluded and put out of Fraunce and Normandie, and also from all Gasconie and Guian; the losse whereof is enoughe and likely was more chargeable to Kinge Henrie the vjth both in the losse of his people and also in the
 20 expences of his goods then was the conquest thereof to his noble progenitors. And no maruaile, for vpon th'englishe partie in loosinge thereof chaunced most commonlie the disaduauntage of the warr, w^{ch} as the common experience² proueth was occasion of great losse both of the people and of goods, wherein may be noted the confidence that is to be trusted and beleiued in batell considerations³ that be made wth alients and straingers, w^{ch}, as it is proued as well in these daies as in time past, for the more lucre and gayne daylie in breakinge there oathes and promises disolue their considerations³ and
 30 alyances at there pleasure, wthout havinge respect either to their honnor, or to their conscience, so that only their auaritious desire may be fulfilled.

And thus I ende this present pamphlet, treatinge of the actes and conquestes of that most victorious and uertuous Prince, Kinge Henrie the Fifte, w^{ch} in my Prohem I promised after my simple intendment, and as nighe as the sayinge of

¹ Ste. Croix.² expences *B.*³ *Read* confederations.

them whome I haue taken for my Authors, and as my learninge woulde suffer to describe, and as plainely as my discretion woulde suffer to compile, leauinge the circumstaunces of the Cronicles of that most goodly and Christian King Henrie the Sixt, wherein at large be declared the actes of his time, to be searched of them that haue affeccion to the knowledge of the same. For because they seeme not to my purpose that I enterprised at the beginninge of this booke, where I deliberated to treat of that most puissant, most victorious and most glorious Kinge Henrie the fifte, whose actes were 10 but of late, and since the beginninge of this my enterprise most to be regarded of vs Englishmen; w^{ch} through the high and victorious corage of our most renowned soueraigne Lorde, that nowe reigneth ouer vs, now of late entred into semblable warr against the Frenchmen, as well for the recouerie of his just and rightfull inheritance on that side of the Sea, w^{ch} the kinge hath hitherto wrongfullie detayned from his Grace, as for the reconciliacion of the same Frenche Kinge and his Confederates vnto our Ghostlie mother of the Church of Rome, against whome they¹ longe perseuered in their 20 obstinate rebellion. But nowe, praysed be the Creator and redeemer of the Vniuersall Worlde, is founde the way of peace well betwixt the Church of Rome and the French Kinge as betwixt our saide Soueraigne Lorde and of his Realme of England.² Pray we allwaies all vnto the Father, the Sonn and the holy Ghost, Three persons and one God, w^{ch} liueth and raigneth by the infinit worlde of Worldes. Amen.

The goulden knot,³ that neuer had blott
 In field nor yet in Towne,
 Did gaeg his word and tried his sword
 With enemies of renowne.

30

These Verses⁴ were written vppon the Standard of the Earle Stafford at Agincourt Battaile.

¹ their B.² See Introduction, pp. ix, x.³ The Stafford badge.⁴ No doubt they come from the Earl of Ormonde's narrative. However, the then Earl of Stafford was a boy, and was not present at Agincourt. Possibly the reference should be to his father and to the battle of Shrewsbury.

VARIATIONS IN HARLEY MS. 35.

[The majority of the minor variations are given in the footnotes. I here add some longer ones, together with others for which I could not find room, owing to the late discovery of the second manuscript. See Introduction, pp. vi-viii.]

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
3-5	—	The Proem <i>Omitted.</i>
6	17	I hard that skarse twoo yeares were expired when you were left
10	16	his companie, but in so much
10	29	where in caues he continued, and vppon the topp of Lawton's hope Hill in Herefordshire, as is there obserued and affirmed, finished his miserable life. ¹
12	19	doubted lord and father
16	24	notable remembraunces
31	4, 5	to continewe peace amongst the religious Church
	27	right inheritances
	31	iust inheritaunce
47	13-16	This commaundment . . . Duke of Orleauce <i>Omitted.</i>
51	29	Howbeit all other . . . name of the Towne <i>Omitted.</i>
52	2	
56	16	And when they approached <i>Omitted.</i>
56	25	But of this number . . . w th out harnes <i>Omitted.</i>
57	2	
59	21	bowes of the Englishmen
61	30	in that Mass he heard
67	17	But at the proachinge . . . might he deuise <i>Omitted.</i>
68	3	
77	21	his obligation
81	23	diuers others of his famyliers
84	7	so great an hoast by the next waies without their perill and damage as were in the way over so many rivers and brookes. Therefore he went about the further way for his people
92	9	After this great victorie . . . purpose and matter <i>Omitted.</i>
93	24	
95	3	goodly and rich stage of astate
97	11	was not knowne
98	26	invasable part of the Towne
108	13, 14	and assigned . . . his hoast <i>Omitted.</i>
109	6, 7	was deliuered. Where this mightie prince, the Duke of Gloucester

¹ This is an otherwise unknown legend of Glendower's death. Lawton or Loughton's Hope is a reputed manor in the parish of Canon Pyon. In the reign of Henry VI, John, third son of Sir Thomas Monington, held it in right of his wife, Elizabeth Lawton. This seems to give a clue to the legend, for Thomas Monington was husband of one of Glendower's sisters. See Duncombe and Cooke, *Herefordshire: Hundred of Grimswade*, p. 73.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
115	19	Nyneteenth day
118	34	day of Julii
123	7-15	Howbeit . . . our matter <i>Omitted.</i>
123	18-27	The Duke of Exeter . . . my matter begunn <i>Omitted.</i>
128	5-9	after many circumlocutions it was concluded that the Ambassadours of the Dolphine shoulde come to the Kinge to Roane, there to treate w th him for peace; and so it was done after the deliuerance of Roane; but because of the circumstances for the abridgement of our matter in this meane the Earle
130	16 }	In this meane time . . . to our former matter <i>Omitted.</i>
132	10 }	
154	21-23	The Englishmen were wearied no assaults with no myninge nor casting of trenches, nor with no errup- tions and issues or assaults of their enemyes. Where- fore the Castelanes proceeding almost the space of vij. moneths
158	10-12	Trois in Champaine; of whose comminge . . . aduertized accompanied . . . estates mett the Kinge
170	8 }	Howbeit, as I haue heard . . . to our former matter <i>Omitted.</i>
171	12 }	
173	28	Then to . . . purpose <i>Omitted.</i>
177	27, 28	into Englande, of whome many paid the fynaunces and after was deliuered. And many other
183	35	heavens. And the coverture of his bedd was of redd silke beaten with goulde ¹ ; and besides that
185	25-37	Thus this most . . . ponished him w th due justice <i>Omitted.</i>
190	28-33	The goulden knot . . . Agincourt Battaile <i>Omitted.</i>

¹ This translates a sentence of Monstrelet which is omitted in *B*.

GLOSSARY

A

abide, to await, 34; to stop, 50; to stay, 64; 'aboad,' 44.
 abiect, cast off, 22.
 able, fit, 81.
 abundant, abounding, 11.
 absolve, to absolve, to perform, 94.
 abyde, *see* abide.
 accombrance, trouble, discomfort, 64.
 accompt, to account, 133; *accoumpted*, numbered, 33.
 accord, to agree, 70, 100.
 accustomable, habitual, 29.
 accustomed, usual, habitual, 144, 155.
 ascertain, *see* ascertain.
 actes of youth, youthful conduct, 11.
 action, *apparently used in the sense of* a legal process, *and so meaning* dispute, 31.
 actiuenes, activity, 16.
 addressed, prepared, got ready, 36.
 adioyn, to add, to set next to, 3.
 admaruelled, surprised, 144.
 aduance, to go forward, 'advanced himself,' 12.
 aduerture, to take the chance of, 87; to venture, to attempt, 76.
 aduertise, to inform, to warn, 11, 27, 146.
 aduertisement, warning, 134; information, 143.
 aduisement, consideration, 20.
 aduising, considering, regarding, 141.
 aduoutrie, adultery, 29.
 affect, to like, 157.
 affection to, to haue, to have liking for, 190.
 affectuouslie, affectionately, 46.
 afflicte, afflicted, 179.
 after, in accordance with, 133, 163.
 age, 'natural age,' natural term of life, 182.
 agony, distress of mind, 14, 102.
 agregat, collected together, 7.
 aide hand, assistance, 30.
 alients, aliens, foreigners, 189.
 ambassage, embassy, 128.
 amoue, to amove, to abolish, 96.
 anguishes, sufferings, 167.
 anker, anchor, 70.
 anker, anchorite, hermit, 20.

apparrell, equipment, 183.
 apparrell, to dress, 12; to equip, 28, 124.
 apparrellinge, equipment, 27.
 appayred, impaired, damaged, 106.
 appeach, to put an end to, 168.
 appeales, *perhaps for* peals, *either* peals of bells, *or* cheers, 65.
 appeasinge, pacifying, 96.
 apperceiue, to perceive, 148.
 applied them, directed themselves intently, 43.
 appoint, to make agreement with, 103.
 appointment, agreement, terms of capitulation, 39.
 apposition, affixing, 156.
 approbrious, opprobrious, 26.
 approued, proved, 170.
 apte, suited, fit for, 25.
 araise, to eradicate, 12.
 arayse, to raise a siege, 94, 114.
 arbalester, crossbowman, 56.
 ardent, keen, zealous, 113.
 arised, rose up, 37.
 array, dress, 63.
 arsone, saddle-bow, *French* arçon, 66.
 artificial, ingenious, 146.
 ascertain, ascertain, to make certain, to inform certainly, 69, 182.
 ashur, azure, 185.
 asperance, hope, 8; *see* esperance.
 asperly, roughly, 155.
 assaye, to test, to make trial of, 107.
 assayled to skale, sprang to scale; *a tautologous expression, there may be some confusion with* assayed, 89.
 assembled, collected together, 63.
 assemblies, gatherings together, musters, 119.
 assend, to 'assend the sea', to set sail, 33, 67; 'assended the carricks,' scaled, climbed up on, boarded, 70; to scale walls, 90.
 assiege, a siege, 34, 109.
 assiege, to besiege, 10, 86.
 assurance, safety, protection, 112, 114.
 atchiue, to achieve, 38.
 attaine, attayne, to attend, 'attayne upon their war,' 29; to attend to, 58; attaine to, to obtain, 87, 153, to reach, 112.

attame, to subdue, 7.
 attempt, to try to fulfil, 58.
 attent, to attend, 107.
 avantgard, the vanguard of an army, 82.
 avayleable, profitable, 114.
 avoyd, to put away, 13; to discharge, 20, 29; to leave, 103, 131; to get rid of, 137; 'avoyded the river of the stakes,' 152.

B

bacinct, *see* basnett.
 bararer, barrier, 169.
 baselict, basilisk, a kind of cannon, 86.
 basnett, a basinet, a light helmet, *then* men equipped with basinets, 52, 55.
 batell, battle, *adj.* warlike, 189.
 bataille, battell, a battalion, 43, 59; warlike array, 77.
 beaten, stamped in metal, 54; battered, 71.
 befight, to fight with, 50.
 benignly, benignly, graciously, 24, 25.
 behest, a promise, an undertaking, 145.
 behoueful, behoveful, useful, 77, 173.
 belong to, to concern, 73.
 bestrid, stood over, 60.
 bin, been, *passim*.
 blandish, to flatter, 145.
 blessaunt, *mistake for* blessed, 26.
 boord, table, 63.
 borderers, neighbours, 127, 153.
 Borgonian, Burgundian, 75.
 boysterous, boisterousness, 64.
 bren, to burn, 20.
 briefly, shortly, soon, 20, 24.
 brodar, broader, 59.
 bruite, din, 'bruite and noyse,' 59, 120.
 busilie, actively, 89; earnestly, 179.
 busine, buysine, a trumpet, 52.
 busines, occupation, care, 188.

C

calltrapp, an instrument covered with spikes, 122.
 carrick, a carrack, a ship of large size, 69.
 cast, to discharge a gun, or engine, 33; 'to cast ditches,' to dig out and throw up the earth at the side, 112, 129.
 castelines, castilians, castle-keepers, garrisons of castles, 154, 158.
 causey, causeway, 35.
 cautellous, cautious, 39.
 cease, to stop, 73.
 champion, champaign, open, flat, 98.
 charge, burden, business, 15.
 chase, pursuit, 120.
 chase, to put to flight, 78, 119.
 chaunce, to chance, to happen, 87.
 chayre, chair, a litter, 12, 116.

chevish, to bargain, 73, 96.
 circle, circule, a coffin, *French* cercueil, 183, 186.
 circute, circuit, neighbourhood, district, 113; radius, 126.
 cleerelie, clearly, fully, 13, 137.
 close, enclosed, 144.
 collett, a collect, 71.
 common, general, public, 4.
 complices, supporters, 164.
 conclude, to decide, 128; 'conclude upon,' 135.
 condescend, to condescend, to agree, to determine, 42, 103, 139.
 conduct, to lead, to command, 116.
 conduct, leadership, 34; a guide, an escort, 127.
 conductor, a leader, a commander, 50; a guide, an escort, 127.
 confidence, to trust, 29.
 conforme, to establish, 31.
 confounde, to destroy, 102.
 conserue, to preserve, to protect, 112.
 constance, constancy, consistency, 40.
 contamynable, capable of being contaminated, *here perhaps*, contaminated, 29.
 contentacion, contentment, 35.
 contex, to set in context with, 3.
 contrarious, adverse, 70; opposed to, 103.
 contrary, to oppose, 43.
 conuenient, suitable, 8, 171.
 conuersacion, intercourse, 15; occupation, 28; behaviour, 29.
 conuey, to convoy, to escort, 127, 171.
 conueyaunce, transportation, 32.
 corporall, bodily, 47.
 couert, covert, hidden, secret, 133.
 couetous, *by confusion of endings for* couetise, covetousness, 20, 45.
 couller, colour, *metaphorically*, pretence, 72.
 countervayle, to equal, 136.
 courour, courier, scout, 50.
 course, 'to run a course,' to attack, 57.
 cowardnes, cowardice, 43.
 cruell, severe, keen, 87, 118.
 cry, to proclaim, *French* crier, 187.
 cry, proclamation, *French* cri, 187.
 Cuntrie Councill, council of the country, 11.

D

deale, 'some deale,' somewhat, 145.
 declyne, to decline, *of the day*, 62; to divert from a course of conduct, to dissuade, 72.
 default, lack, 7.
 defence, defensive power, 107.

defence, to defend, 129.
 defensible, defensible, capable of defence, strong, 41, 43; useful for defence, defensive, 122.
 deinties, luxuries, pleasures, 25.
 deliber, to take counsel, to resolve, 24.
 deliberacion, counsel, 32.
 deliberate, to resolve, 103, 108.
 deliuer, to deliver, to release, 170; to yield up, 121; 'I have deliuered to write,' I have devoted myself to write, *translation of accensus sum*, 6.
 deliuerance, deliverance, surrender, 118.
 deliuerie, delivery, surrender, 137.
 delve, to dig, 80.
 demonstraunce, demonstration, 16.
 denie to, to refuse, 24.
 denounce, to announce, to proclaim, 24, 74.
 depainted, depicted, 185.
 depart, to separate, 75, 131; to leave, 80; 'departed,' died, 182.
 depece, depease, depessh, to break in pieces, 65, 86, 171.
 depute, to assign, to appoint, 38, 81.
 derogation, downfall, 134.
 desirous, desirable, 13.
 desperate, despairing, 39.
 detrench, to cut asunder, to cut to pieces in battle, 90.
 deuide to, to divide amongst, 41.
 difficill, difficult, 34.
 disanker, to raise anchor, 70.
 disappoint, to fail, to fall short of one's expectation, 52.
 discouncell, to advise against, 69.
 discourage, the state of discouragement, despair, 71.
 discrete, discreet, prudent, 24.
 diacrie, to descry, to spy, 126.
 discrimis, hazards, *Latin* discrimina, 68.
 disease, inconvenience, discomfort, 64.
 diseased, sick, in ill-health, 12.
 disguise, to dress fantastically, 11.
 disme, a tax of a tenth, 77.
 displace, to dislodge, 125.
 displeasure, injury, 37, 153.
 disport, sport, diversion, 74.
 disposed, arranged, ordered, 54; 'disposed them,' 120.
 dispouerd, unprovided, destitute (*perhaps an anglicising of despourvu*), 95.
 disseuer, to divide, 56.
 dissolue, to dissolve, to break up, *of a siege*, 69, *in passive sense*, 109; to annul, 138.
 distress, to rob, to plunder, 17, 127.
 disturbe, to interrupt, 42.
 diuinely, by God's aid, 51.

doctrin, an instruction, 13.
 dole, lamentation, 44.
 domage, damage, hurt, 54.
 dominacion, lordship, 165.
 dool, to dole out, to apportion, 21.
 doubtinge, fearing, 52.
 drowned, sunk in the water, 119.
 droytes, rights, *French* droits, 163.

E

elate, elated, puffed up, 15.
 elect, exalted, 65.
 electe, to choose, to select, 106.
 embattell, to set in order for battle, 120.
 ambush, to ambush, 142.
 eme, uncle, xxii.
 empech, empessh, to impeach, to hinder, to bring to nought, 20, 42.
 encombred, encumbered, troubled, 110.
 endocrine, to teach, 181.
 endure, to last, 22.
 enforce, to strengthen, 9, 34, 44.
 engendred, generated, 173.
 enhaunce, to advance, to raise, 78; *see* inhaunce.
 enquest, quest, enterprise, 148.
 ensewer, a follower, 6.
 entended, intended, with the intention, 180.
 enter, entre, to go into, to embark on a ship, 33; to start on a journey, 43; to begin negotiation, 156.
 entre, *see* entry.
 enterprise, to undertake, 7.
 enterprising, an undertaking, 3.
 entertayne, to have care for, 5.
 entirely, fully, 26.
 entreaty, negotiation, 100.
 entrells, entrails, 182.
 entry, entre, way in, 33; start, beginning, 31.
 environ, to surround, 10; *see* inviron.
 erect, erected, 40.
 err from, to disagree, 100.
 erudicions, doctrines, maxims, 13.
 esperance, hope, 29, 119.
 espie, a spy, 50.
 estate, state, rank, position of precedence, 8, 51, 63; an individual person of high rank, 12, 27, 33; estates of the realm, 171; state, pomp, 179; 'siege of estate,' seat of state, 95; 'man's estate,' 188.
 euanished, disappeared, past away, 128.
 euidently, clearly, 'evidently proved,' 34.
 excede, to excel, to surpass, 121.
 exiled, distant, absent, 3, 93.
 expulsed, expelled, 182.
 extreamelie, to the utmost, fully, 15.

F

facound, **facund**, eloquent, elegant, 3.
faculties, goods, 99.
falsh, false, 10.
fame, report, 17.
faultey, defective, ill-kept, 147.
fayle, to fail, to lack, 122.
fear, to frighten, 103, 133.
fearde, dared, defied, 42.
field, level, open country, 34; field of battle, 9, 28; a battle, *simply*, 46, 52; battle array, 36, 53.
fifteen, a tax of a fifteenth, 77.
fire-hott, hot from the fire, 111.
fixed, 'fixed with stakes,' with stakes fixed fast in, 44.
fludd, flood, a river, 44, 109, 174; floods of the sea, 109. *On p. 109 in one place it represents fluvius, in the other fluctus.*
force, to regard, to care for, 133.
foreclose, to exclude, to shut out, 35.
fortune, to happen, to befall, 22, 128.
foryner, a forager, 102.
found, supplied with necessities, 7.
frame, wooden framework, 113.
frustrate, frustrated, deceived of, 31, 112.
furder, further, longer, 84.
furnish, to perform, 38.
fynauce, revenue, 27; payment, fine, 41, 176.
fyre, to drive away by fire, 105.

G

gaeg, to gage, to pledge, 190.
garnish, to decorate, to furnish, to equip, 35 (*of walls with towers*), 85 (*of a town with provisions*), 122 (*of a city with citizens*).
gate, way, manner, 171.
generacions, begetting of children, 16.
geometrie, the science of measurement, 154.
gettinge, capture, 93.
geue, to give, 17.
ghostlie, spiritual, 19.
goe, to walk, 12.
graunt, to grant, to agree to, to consent, 169, 183.
greiue, to grieve, to distress, 102.
ground, country, district, 52.
guerdion, guerdon, reward, 7.

H

habiliments, apparatus, equipment, 81.
habillitie, capacity, 176.
habitation, dwelling, *metaphorically*, 40.

hall, *used for the King's head-quarters*, the royal tent on land, 36, 95; the King's ship in the fleet, 80.
hallowe, to keep a sacred feast, 155.
hanginge, in suspense, undecided, 100.
harbor, to shelter, to lodge, 62.
harbour, shelter, 50.
hard, heard, 6.
hardie, hardy, brave, 12; daring, 91.
hardines, valour, 33.
harnes, armour, 53.
haule, *see* hall.
heauines, grief, 61, 182.
hight, the top, of a hill, 34; of a building, 65; of a rock, 101.
holme, homely, 3.
howe well, however, 56.
humane, 'humane sciences,' polite learning, 6; 'humane condicion,' the state of mankind, 31.
huke, **hewke**, a soldier's loose cloak with a hood, 66.

I

ilett, eyelet, 11.
imagine, to devise, 111.
imbordered, embroidered, 143.
impeach, to hinder, 130, 157.
impetiouslie, impetuously, 142.
importunate, grievous, 134.
inclose, to enclose, to shut in, 38, 126; to shut, 146; to cover, 120.
incombred, encumbered, troubled, 64.
incontinent, immediately, 151.
inconueniences, dangers, difficulties, 83.
indifferent, impartial, neutral, 135, 143.
inditing, literary composition, 3.
indoctryne, to instruct, 6.
indure, to endure, 116.
indurate, hardened, 130.
inflate, puffed up, 42.
inforce, to strengthen, 59.
inhabit, to occupy as inhabitants, 91.
inhabitor, inheritor, owner, 134.
inhabitaunce, **inhabitants**, *properly* an inhabiting, habitation, dwelling; *here clearly used as equivalent to inheritance*, possessions, 30, 31, 32, 68, 96. *On p. 31 it translates heritages, and on that page H. reads inheritances. There is a somewhat similar confusion of inherit and inhabit in The Tempest, Act II, sc. 2, 'the king being drowned, we will inherit here,' and Act iv. sc. 1, 'the great globe itself, yea, all which it inherit.'*
inhaunce, to advance, 31.
inhauncement, increase, advancement, 40; excess, 83.

inioy, to enjoy, 42.
 inioyn, to enjoyn, 45.
 inlarge, to enlarge, 171.
 inordinate, immoderate, 26.
 inough, enough, 45.
 inquest, a thing sought for, object, 113.
 insigne, to instruct, 31.
 insinement, instruction, 13.
 insolency, disorderly conduct, 17.
 instore, to put in store, to stock, 153.
 instruct, instructed, 179.
 insue, to ensue, to follow, 24.
 intend to, to apply oneself to, to aim at, 59.
 intendment, intention, 189.
 intentife, heedful, 89.
 intenteue, occupied with, devoted to, 153.
 intermeddle, to concern oneself with, 41, 185.
 intermit, to take part in, 135.
 intertaininge, entertaining, management, 183.
 intertexed, inwoven, 144.
 intreate, to negotiate, 67.
 intreatise, negotiation, 74.
 intiteled, specified, 3.
 intumulate, entombed, 20, 173.
 inuade, to attack, 39.
 inualish, to increase, 129.
 inuasion, attack, assault, 38, 63.
 inuassue, offensive, adapted for attack, 117.
 inuolupted, enveloped, wrapped up in, 93.
 inviron, to environ, to surround, to encircle, 35.
 iourned, *see* journey.
 issue, to make a sortie, 155; to go out, 75.
 issue, way out, 37; a sortie, 124.

J

jeoparde, to hazard, 103.
 journey, *properly* a day's work; a day's march, 46; a day's fighting, 47.
 journey, to travel, 96, 173.

K

keepe, to guard, 'to keep the sea,' 86.
 knowen, learnt, 98.
 knowledge, to acknowledge, 169.

L

labour, to toil, to exert oneself, to endeavour, 11, 158; 'laboured in war,' 3.
 lade, to draw off, to drain (ditches), 80.
 lamentable, mournful, 132.

large, wide, ample, 85.
 laud, praise, 5.
 least, lest, 29.
 legacie, an embassy, 132.
 legate, an ambassador, 24.
 lest, least, 85.
 let, to hinder, to prevent, 38, 110; to allow, to suffer, 29.
 licence, lycence, to grant permission, 32, 140.
 licence, lycence, leave, permission, 11.
 licible, lawful, permissible, 132.
 liefer, more pleasing, preferable, 133.
 light, active, not heavy (*of horses*), 66.
 lightlie, for a slight or insufficient reason, 5; easily, 85.
 lodge, to take one's post or residence at a place, 123.
 lodge, a resting-place or dwelling, 158; *used in plural* a camp, 115.
 lustie, pleasant, vigorous, 185.
 lycence, *see* licence.
 lymit, to limit, to fix, 25, 77, 107.
 lynage, lineage, race, 131.

M

maker, *used of the Host in the Sacrament*, 13.
 malengine, malinge, wicked artifice, 140, 159.
 manace, to threaten, 94.
 manly, *adj.* brave, 15, 168; *adv.* manfully, bravely, 17, 108.
 margent, margin, 3.
 marshall, martial, 126.
 maruile, marvel, wonder, 52.
 masonarie, belonging to a mason, 104.
 maugre, in spite of, 117.
 mayne, great, strong, 117.
 meane, intermediate, middle, 22; 'meane way,' 157.
 meanelie, in moderation, 11; observing the mean, 15; slightly, 6.
 medicen, remedy, 108.
 meeke, mild, gentle, 18; gracious, 97.
 meekely, humbly, 135.
 members, the Four Members or divisions of Flanders, 76.
 minde, intention, disposition, 18, 165.
 minish, to diminish, 117.
 ministerie, mystery, craft, occupation, 80.
 misbelesuing, holding false opinions, 23.
 mischiefe, misfortune, 88.
 miscreants, unbelievers, 182.
 misterie, craft, 73.
 mitored, mired, wearing mitres, 184.
 mooue, to move, to stir (*war*), 139.
 moouinge, removal, 72.

motion, movement, disturbance, 15 ;
proposal, 156.
mount upon, to ascend, 34.
munitions, fortifications, 139.
musicks, musical instruments, 52.
mutable, changeable, fickle, volatile,
40.

N

namelie, especially, 5.
naturall, legitimate, 12.
ne, nor, 48.
nesessible, necessary, 154.
neupmatis, *sc.* πνεύματος, of the Holy
Spirit, 21.
newe imagined, newly devised, 111.
nobles, noblesse, nobility, 31.
nowe foorth, henceforth, 162.
noyous, vexatious, harmful, 10.

O

obeysance, obedience, 9.
objection, a charge, an accusation, 170.
obtaine, to attain, 16 ; to get possession
of, 115 ; to win a battle, 44.
occision, slaughter, 9.
occupy, to busy oneself, 179 ; to prac-
tise, 5.
offer, to make an offering at Church, 68.
on, one, 10.
one, on, 44, 120.
only, *adj.* mere, 86.
open, public, 8, 178 ; manifest, 29.
openly, publicly, 27, 126.
oppress, to weigh down, to burden,
15 ; to constrain, to press hard, 129 ;
to bear down, to crush in battle, to
overcome, 8, 106.
oppression, pressure, force, 55 ; crush-
ing defeat, 106, 110, 128.
orator, spokesman, 128.
ordayne, to arrange, 101.
order, state, 183.
ordinance, order, 49.
over, upper, 104, 180.
ouerpass, to pass over, to omit, 159.
ouertravelled, overworked, exhausted,
105.
owe, ought, 31.

P

pacify, 'to be pacified,' to make peace,
128 ; 'pascefed,' reduced to peaceful
submission, 156.
paction, agreement, 97, 165.
pamphile, pamphlet, 4.
partie, partey, part, side, 99.
pasceffe, *see* pacify.
pase, pace, 43.

passage, crossing, ford, 44 ; passing,
journey, 47.
passe, to cross (*the sea*), 32.
passinge, very, 17.
payne, to take trouble, 3 ; to endeavour,
9, 84.
payne, punishment, 169.
penury, lack, 63, 128.
peopled, 'well-peopled,' populous, 98.
perform, to fulfil, to complete, 80.
perished, destroyed, 111.
perseuere, perceuere, to persevere, to
persist in, 9 ; to continue, 155.
perswacion, persuasion, allure ment,
persuasive argument, 40, 142.
perticuler, individual, personal, 4.
pile, peel, a fortified place, 175.
pirrills, perils, hazardous encounters,
113.
pixe, pyx, the box for the Host, 44.
place, room for, 37 ; a house, a resi-
dence, 73.
plaine, level, 10 ; a level, open place,
85 ; 'playne countrie,' open country,
122.
plenallie, fully, 142.
plenary, plenarilie, fully, completely,
106, 159.
plenteous, fertile, 152.
plesaunt, favourable, 81.
pointment, appointment, agreement,
100.
politique, skilful, 111.
pollicie, policy, skill, 90, 93.
pomposly, pompously, in state, 178.
ponder, to consider, 94.
ponderous, heavy, troublous, 14.
poseye, a motto, 66.
possibilitie, capacity, the best of one's
power, 90, 99.
power, as a *military term*, a body or
force of men, 9, 39, 90.
pratique, experience, 3.
pray, booty, 35.
precinct, the environs, a district de-
fined for purposes of administration,
107, 126.
prefixe, to state beforehand, to foretell,
182 ; to fix beforehand, 39.
prelatts, overseers, 138.
prelimit, to define, or settle before-
hand, 99.
presedent, precedent, that which pre-
cedes, 92.
presentlie, in presence on the spot, 54.
preserue, to continue, 98.
pretence, opinion, understanding, 4, 29.
pretend, to intend, to design, 76.
pretory, the praetorium, or com-
mander's tent, 40.
principallest, chief, 136.

prune, to deprive, 94.
proaching, approaching, 67.
profit in, to make progress in, 6.
proper, one's own, 39, 75; 'the same proper,' the very same, 51; actual, 178.
propose, to offer for consideration, to propound, 25, 142.
proposicion, statement, speech, 25.
proprietie, that which is proper to, 22.
prosesse, process, 101.
proue, to approve, 159; to make proof of, 118.
prowes, prowess, 91; 'prowesses,' 152.
puissance, power, *in the sense of an armed force*, 138.
punition, punishment, 15, 165.
puruey, to purvey, to provide, 15, 77, 124.
purueyaunce, provision, 52, 79.
putteth, 'of this number putteth no certaintie,' places, alleges, 56.

Q

quantetie, size, 86, 170.
quarells, arrows, 122.

R

raign, to arrange, to order, 22.
ransome, ransom, 74.
rapins, acts of plunder or violence, 137.
rayne, to prevail, 42.
reason to, to argue in favour of, 7.
rebellions, rebellious persons, 23.
receauer, a receiver, a collector of rents, 17.
recoile, recoyle, to drive back, 36; to retreat, 117.
recomforted, encouraged, restored to confidence, 148.
recoyle, *see* recoile.
redress, to set in place again, 187.
reduce, to translate, 3; to restore, 137.
reduct, reduced 'into writing,' 140, 162.
reduige (= *reduise*), to reduce, to set out, 7.
refer, to assign, to give the credit of, 65.
refection, refreshment, 47.
refuse, to reject, 28.
reigement, regiment, rule, 4, 186.
repeate, to seek again, to demand back, 133; *Latin* repetere.
repell, to reject, 138.
repleate, replete, filled, 28; thickly set, 54.
replenish, to fill up, to make good, 84; to stock, 154.
replicacion, reply, 131.

repressed, reprised, resumed, 109.
reprise, to resume, 28, 45.
reproof, censure, 42.
request, a thing sought for, a quest, 74, 126.
require, to seek, 46; to demand, 83.
requisite, necessary, 29.
rereward, rearward, 56.
rescues, reinforcements, 148.
resemblance, reassembly, 61.
resite, to recite, to relate, 51.
resolucio, formal decision, *or* statement, 158; dissolution, death, 182.
respecte, respite, 143.
resplendishing, shining, brilliant, 8.
reuengement, vengeance, 128.
reuested, dressed in vestments, 184.
rewyne, ruin, 84.
right, custom, 'right of women,' 133.
rivage, shore, bank, 32.
roome, place, office, 20.
royotous, riotous, 19.
run, 'to run a course,' to charge, 57.
ruynate, ruinous, 81.

S

sacred, celebrated, *of a marriage*, 162.
sad, sober, discreet, xxxi.
sages, saws, maxims, 4.
say forth, to recite, to deliver, 182; to preach, 130.
scelerate, wicked, 23.
science, a branch of learning, 6; a skilled craft, 73.
scituate, situated, 35.
scurledy, scurrility, 29.
scute, a French crown, *écu*, 32.
search, to examine, to explore, 38.
seek to, to have resort to, 133.
seled, sealed, 182.
semblable, likely, suitable, 19; similar, 45; *adv.* likely, 145.
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